

# THE AMERICAN

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## WEEKLY NOTES.

MR. GARFIELD is now fairly in the saddle, with the good will of all good Americans, and has sketched the programme of his policy in an inaugural which has won the applause of all our parties. Of course, the liveliest interest was felt as regards the attitude he would assume toward the South. It is not too much to say that he has satisfied the reasonable people of both sections. He has recognized distinctly the difficulties which attend the free exercise of negro suffrage in that part of the country, and at the same time he has declared what must be an ultimate truth for every sound American, that the voter of every color must be left free to exercise the elective franchise, with the certainty that he will be met neither by violence before the election nor by fraud after it. The President has an educator's faith in the power of education and intelligence to remove this unhappy difficulty. We do not see how any man can have a genuine faith in free government, who does not share this other faith in the moral efficacy of popular enlightenment. It is notable that the school of scientific writers which insists the most on heredity as stronger than education in the formation of character, is made up, for the most part, of believers in strong or personal government of some sort. Upon the efficiency of the schoolhouse and its adjuncts,—the popular church, the popular library and the popular newspaper,—we must depend as a last resort for the stability and purity of our Government. To apply this schoolhouse remedy on a great scale to the South, and to the illiteracy which lingers in other sections besides the South, would be Mr. GARFIELD's cure for our worst evils. In that we believe he will have the hearty co-operation of the Southern people themselves. The break-up of the old aristocratic order of Southern society by the war, which has changed the organization of the Democratic party itself, has left them no choice but to be urgent in this matter; and they are giving more generously for this purpose, in proportion to their means, than are some Northern communities,—Philadelphia, for instance. Both they and the President will be building for the ages to come, if they can manage to advance this great cause to the elimination of illiteracy from our voting and governing population.

We find much that is well expressed, but little that is novel, in the other parts of the Inaugural Address, since most of the ground had been covered by Mr. GARFIELD's speeches, and by his letter of acceptance. On Civil Service Reform he is a little clearer than before. He wants to see every individual secure of his place for the time specified in his commission, and no removals made, except for cause, before the expiry of the commission. He has nothing to say of the wisdom of lengthening the term for which commissions run, much less of extending the term to "life or good behavior." And he has said nothing which commits him in any way to the plan of competitive examinations. We regret this failure to appreciate the importance of permanence in the tenure of office, while we do not share in the sorrow which will be felt by Mr. CURTIS and his friends at the probable abandonment of the examination scheme. If the places in our civil service were held for life or good behavior, the number of appointments made by each President would be so small that it would be possible for him to take pains to appoint good men, and also possible for public opinion to

aid him in the selection. The class of professional politicians would wane in numbers and power. The persons who hold offices would have no reason to take more interest in partisan manipulation than other citizens have. The number of the loaves and fishes would be so reduced as to make waiting for a chance at them a very unremunerative business for a large number of persons. The offices would become so desirable that they would be accepted with much lower salaries than at present, while the incumbents would have every reason for energy and honesty in their administration, since they could be removed for just cause, but not without it. And as the law creating permanence would specify insolence and discourtesy as a just cause, there would be little danger of creating inside the Republic an unpopular bureaucracy, an office-holding oligarchy without popular sympathies, like those of Germany and Russia.

*The Times*, a New York publication, evades our question of last week as to its net opinion of Collector MERRITT, but challenges our statement that competitive examinations would exclude from a share in the Government a majority of the voting and governing class in the nation. If competitive examinations mean anything, they mean that those who pass them are above the general average of the public as regards information on the subjects of the examinations. Could any examination be devised which would furnish a test of practical capacity, there would be some reason for such a test. In their actual operation, these examinations will admit those who know certain things which a good number of our Presidents could not have passed in. They will exclude, although otherwise competent, all who are not well enough informed on such subjects to pass, *i. e.* the majority of the American people. We do not dispute the right of the people to be served by the best men that can be got. We merely claim for the appointing power the right to take capable and honest men wherever it can get them, whether or not they can stand a test which determines neither capacity nor honesty.

MR. GARFIELD takes up the views of policy entertained by Mr. HAYES with regard to the matter of a canal to the Pacific Ocean. He believes it necessary to our dignity and our interests to control directly such a canal; and it is understood that Secretary WINDOM shares these views, which will be those of the new Administration. There is no difference among American citizens as to the end at which Mr. GARFIELD aims. We all agree that it would be intolerable to have the management of such a canal make any, even the slightest, discrimination against our commerce. We are also agreed that in time of war such a canal would become, in some sense, a part of our coast line, and that we could not allow its use by a power hostile to us. But there are those who think that we can gain all these rights and privileges without any active interference with the plans of the projectors, and that such interference is especially to be deprecated if it should help to prevent the construction of the canal, by exciting a vague distrust among the European capitalists who are asked to furnish the money. It is by no means certain that any of the proposed canals will ever be constructed. It is all but certain that none of them could be remunerative in the present or in any probable condition of commerce between the two oceans. But if these Europeans are minded to cut their way through the stony Cordilleras, why stand in

their way? Our country is big enough to get all she wants out of those who will have the control of the canal. We have more faith in the future of the Republic than to suppose that anybody will care to stand in our way.

MR. GARFIELD'S Cabinet received the approval of the Senate without a dissenting vote. It would be a mistake to interpret this and the general absence of unfavorable comment upon its constitution, as implying that it is regarded as entirely satisfactory, and as a finality. In the nature of things, no Cabinet can be judged until the public have seen how it will work; and the public is disposed, on general principles, and very wisely, to take it for granted that the President-elect has been making good use of his opportunities of selection since November. It is therefore indisposed to offer or to listen to adverse criticism, assuming that the gentlemen who brought these councillors together understands his own business, and knows what he can get out of them much better than any one else can, and that his judgment cannot be called in question fairly until it is discredited by results.

That Mr. BLAINE was to be Secretary of State, is the one fact which has been generally known, almost since New Year's day. The post is one of dignity rather than of importance in these piping days of peace. Our Government has so little business with foreign nations under ordinary circumstances, that the Secretary of State has to magnify his office very much indeed, if he means to use it as a stepping-stone to any political advancement. That Mr. BLAINE still entertains any hope of being President, we do not believe; and the tradition which once designated his position as that of the heir-presumptive, has been broken too long to make his appointment significant as regards the future. Its chief significance is that it indicates the policy of the new Administration towards Canada and the Fisheries Question. It shows that the easy and conciliatory course pursued by Mr. EVARTS is not likely to be that of the new Government, and that there will be an end to all pressure in favor of Reciprocity Treaties, Fishery Commissions, and the like. We are, therefore, not surprised to learn that the new Cabinet is disliked in Canada. The *Globe*, indeed, deplors its composition as a concession to Mr. CONKLING; but if the truth were told, it would appear that the appointment which is probably the most distasteful to Mr. CONKLING, is equally so to the *Globe*.

MR. WINDOM'S selection as Secretary of the Treasury is criticised in some quarters, because of his defective record as a Hard Money man. But with a President as intelligent and decided upon all financial matters as is Mr. GARFIELD, it does not much matter who is Secretary of this important department. The current saying that Mr. GARFIELD means himself to run the Treasury, is not wide of the truth. Nor is Mr. WINDOM'S record in financial matters found to be so bad on a closer examination. It is true that he supported the law for the remonetization of silver on the basis represented by our legal tender dollars; but he advocated this only as an experiment as to the power of our Government to retrieve this metal from the discredit into which it had fallen, and he advocated an arrangement by which silver coinage should cease as soon as the experiment was found to have resulted in failure. It is true, also, that he voted for what was called the Inflation Bill, vetoed by President GRANT. But there was room for a decided difference of opinion as to the purpose and effects of that measure, some of our soundest financiers taking the view that it was rather a contraction than an inflation measure. For this vote he expressed his regret soon after Congress adjourned. Mr. WINDOM'S record is not a bad one; but it is not the record of a man of great powers of insight or foresight in financial matters. It remains for him to vindicate Mr. GARFIELD'S selection as a wise one. It is our own judgment that of all the Western men who were named for this Secretaryship, the strongest was Mr. WILSON of Iowa.

MR. KIRKWOOD, as Secretary of the Interior, and Mr. JAMES, as Postmaster-General, come to their respective posts with very different degrees of preparation for the work of their departments. The former is known to the country as a useful Congressman, a genial, humorous speaker and a thoroughly Western sort of American. The nice and difficult problems which await his adjustment of them, make his place one of the most difficult under the Government. Mr. SCHURZ, in spite of some great and glaring defects of administration, was a Secretary of much better than the ordinary sort. He devoted both thought and energy to the administration of Indian questions. Had he only managed to recognize rights as well as sensibilities in the Indians, and to close his ears to the advice of interested inferiors, he would have avoided the great blot upon his career, and would have earned the unqualified gratitude of the whole country. But, even as it is, Mr. SCHURZ has advanced the national requirements of a Secretary of the Interior; and it remains to be seen whether Mr. KIRKWOOD is the man to come up to these requirements. That he came from the western side of the Mississippi Valley, gives us no assurance that he entertains a high conception of Indian rights and capabilities.

Mr. JAMES is distinctly the nearest to a representative of Mr. CONKLING in the new Cabinet, and is, in some respects, the best selection of the whole seven. He owes his appointment to the fact that he knows the business of his department thoroughly, and he has earned his promotion by his incomparable administration of the largest post-office in the country. It gives us firmer hopes as regards Mr. GARFIELD'S ideas of civil service reform, to find that he makes, at the very start, an emphatic recognition of that principle of promotion for merit, which should pervade all branches of the service.

OF Mr. WAYNE MACVEAGH, the new Attorney-General, we sufficiently expressed our opinion when we advocated his election to the United States Senatorship. Mr. MACVEAGH'S appointment is a distinct recognition of the Independent wing of the party, and he is taken from the State in which the Independents have shown themselves the most powerful. Five years ago, Pennsylvania was the last State to which the country would have looked for the manifestation of Independent judgment and energy. But less than five years have seen a revolution in our politics. The change began with the KEMBLE Pardon affair, following up Mr. CHARLES WOLFE'S thorough exposure of the proceedings of our corruptionists at Harrisburg. Mr. LOWELL sings that

"Evil's triumphs are her greatest loss."

And so it proved in that instance. Following that jail-delivery, have come the overthrow of Ring rule in the two chief cities of the Commonwealth, and the dictation of the election of Mr. MITCHELL to the United States Senate, by those Republicans who refused to submit to caucus rule. In this connection we may say that Mr. MITCHELL recommended Mr. MACVEAGH for a Cabinet position, and not, as was reported in the newspapers, Gen. BEAVER or Mr. HARMER. Nothing could have marked more distinctly his freedom from Mr. CAMERON'S control; for while Mr. MACVEAGH'S personal relations to his relatives of that clan are most friendly, there is no political peace between them. The quarrel dates at least as far back as Mr. MACVEAGH'S refusal to use his influence with Mr. HAYES to have Mr. DONALD CAMERON retained as Secretary of War. It is therefore an anti-CAMERON man whom Mr. MITCHELL recommended and Mr. GARFIELD selected to represent our Commonwealth in his Cabinet. The dissatisfaction which Mr. CAMERON professes to feel at the appointment of his brother-in-law, we believe to be altogether genuine. We need not say that we regard Mr. MACVEAGH'S appointment as one of the strongest of the seven, and we trust that his convictions in favor of a Civil Service Reform, through establishing a permanence in the tenure of office, will have great weight with our new President.



THE selection of Mr. ROBERT T. LINCOLN as Secretary of War, we think the weakest of the seven. It is not American, nor is it wise, to give a man a place because his father was somebody. And had Mr. LINCOLN been anybody's son but President LINCOLN's, he would never have been selected. We do not doubt that Mr. LINCOLN is all that his friends claim for him. He is a man of excellent habits, industrious, and promising of a good record in his profession as a lawyer. For his father's sake, every American wishes him well. But his father, when alive, left him in the humble position of a captain of volunteers; and Mr. LINCOLN has never given evidence of any special capacity which casts doubt on the soundness of President LINCOLN's judgment in this regard. The office of Secretary of War is not one where efficient management is vital to the welfare of the nation, nor is it likely to become such at an early date. But there are difficult questions to be settled as regards the relation of the Generals to the War Department, which require,—if not a STANTON, with a "No!" like a cannon-shot,—a man of decision and weight. And, as regards Mr. LINCOLN, the principle and precedent involved in such a selection are at least doubtful.

Three seats in the Cabinet having been assigned to the Northern States east of Ohio, and three to the Northern States west of Ohio, Mr. HUNT of Louisiana was chosen to represent the South, or rather the Republicans of the Southern States. Judge HUNT is a man of recognized ability, and of pronounced Republican opinions. His Republicanism has been of long standing and deep root. All parties in his own State seem to be pleased, as this is the first Cabinet appointment for thirty years that has fallen to Louisiana.

THE Cabinet has been constructed not merely upon geographical lines, but with reference to the sub-divisions which exist within the party itself. It aims at covering the whole field, from right to left—BLAINE, HUNT, JAMES, LINCOLN, KIRKWOOD, WINDOM and MACVEAGH. The Stalwart element is rather in the ascendant, but this, perhaps, was unavoidable, as the same is true of the party at large. It is not by their comparative numbers, but by the earnestness of their convictions on questions of party policy, and the knowledge that they hold the balance of power, that the Independents are strong enough to exert a decisive influence. And yet we cannot but feel that Pennsylvania, while the leading State as regards the practical strength of Independent opinions, is not the only one which might have claimed a representative of this class. The Independents of New York, it is true, made so poor a show in the recent Senatorial struggle in that State, as to leave it doubtful whether they still possess any decided vitality. But those of the Bay State are in a very different condition, and were entitled to consideration. If they have been overlooked, it cannot be because Massachusetts furnishes no fit material. A State which has such men among her citizens as Mr. HOAR, Mr. LONG, Mr. DAWES, Mr. FORBES and Mr. HIGGINSON, to say nothing of the ADAMSES, cannot be regarded as having declined in the possession of talent since the days when no Cabinet was formed without a representative of Massachusetts. That great Commonwealth may have lost in relative importance with the shift of power to the new States of the West; but she is still a focus of intellectual and moral life for the whole country.

HAVING disposed of the Cabinet places, Mr. GARFIELD has now to discharge the hardly less difficult task of bestowing the lesser places. It is our hope that he will make no changes that can be avoided, and that wherever Mr. HAYES has left an upright and efficient man in office, the new President will retain him. It is true that Mr. HAYES made his appointments upon a somewhat narrow basis. He sacrificed such men as Mr. ARTHUR to the *shibboleth* of his Civil Service Examinations. He put men in office whose appointments were made under circumstances which have rendered them offensive to a great number of honest Republicans. Such men as

Mr. MERRITT of the New York Custom House, it is said, are to give way to the desire to harmonize and unite the whole party. If such removals must be made, we hope there will be as few of them as possible, and that every new appointment to these places will be of a man acceptable, not only to those whom Mr. HAYES offended, but to those whom he pleased, by his somewhat arbitrary removals.

One official who should be retired is Mr. FRENCH of the Treasury Department. To Mr. FRENCH has fallen the duty of deciding what duty shall be imposed upon imported goods, where the tariff law is ambiguous. As such cases arise constantly, and as a decision, once made, cannot be reversed easily, the administration of this office is of the greatest importance. Whatever be the reason, Mr. FRENCH has not been a satisfactory judge of such matters. His decisions in the hoop-iron and the sheet-iron cases were so unfair in themselves, and in their results so crippling to American industries, as to cause very just and wide-spread complaints against his action. The latter of the two decisions was reversed by Mr. SHERMAN, when the persons concerned managed to secure his attention to its merits.

We observe that the Connecticut Congressmen are recommending Mr. ALBERT S. BOLLES of Norwich for this post. Mr. BOLLES is exceptionally well posted about such matters; his "Industrial History of the United States" shows the range of his information. He is also a man of decided fairness and openness of mind, and his decisions would express an intelligent interpretation of the law, rather than his own opinions, which are Protectionist.

WE cannot congratulate the Republican party on the accession of Mr. MAHONE to its ranks. He has taken his seat on the Republican side of the Senate, and has found a welcome there from Senators more anxious about the success than the good name of the party. It is well known that this was not an unpremeditated act, but one for which certain Republican leaders had made overtures. Mr. MAHONE's famous manifesto, which Mr. JOHNSTON, of his own State, so completely exposed and discredited, was planned at a conference with Republican politicians, and was to be preliminary to his reception into the party. Mr. HAYES cashiered a post-master for co-operating with Mr. MAHONE and the Readjusters of Virginia. Does any one suppose that Mr. GARFIELD will be more pliable, or that he will give this man such a hold on the official patronage of Virginia as will enable him to saddle himself for good on the people of that State? It is said that this was promised him by the Republicans we have spoken of. They will find it easier to promise than to fulfil.

It seems to us but just and fair that the organization of the Senate's Committees and the election of officials should be postponed until the number of the Senators is complete. The death of Mr. CARPENTER and the removal of Messrs. BLAINE, KIRKWOOD and WINDOM to the Cabinet, confer no rights upon the Democratic members of the body which they would not possess were these four places filled instead of being vacant. It is, therefore, but reasonable for the Republicans to resist organization until the successors of these gentlemen come to take their seats, which cannot be later than a few days at the farthest. Maine has already sent Mr. FRYE to take Mr. BLAINE's place, and in some respects the Senate gains by the change. Mr. RAMSEY will certainly be appointed by the Governor of Minnesota as Mr. WINDOM's temporary successor. The Governor of Iowa has appointed Mr. J. W. McDILL. Nor is there any prospect of a delay as regards Wisconsin. In the latter State ex-Senator CAMERON seems likely to obtain the place.

Even with these places filled, and with Mr. MAHONE's apostasy to swell their number, we do not see what likelihood there is of the Republicans getting a majority, especially as all the chances are in

favor of Mr. DAVIS acting with the Democrats. But when the question may depend upon one or two doubtful votes, they are within their rights in insisting upon delay.

WE notice that our Democratic exchanges objected, apparently more as a form of consistent grumbling against Republican demonstration than from any reasons pertaining to the true interests of our national welfare—at the great display accompanying President GARFIELD'S assumption of office. It was a great display and costly, but there is certainly a large measure of inconsistency in the words of our Democratic contemporaries, and but an irrational argument in the sketchy comparisons drawn between President GARFIELD and President JEFFERSON, to the detriment of the living and the praise of the dead. The pageant was worthy of note, yet it was as nothing to that which our complaining contemporaries promised us last summer, when "HANCOCK is inaugurated." And no one doubts that if that gallant soldier had succeeded at the polls in November, his inauguration would have eclipsed the display made last week at the Capitol, as gold eclipses granite. The reasons for the display made at Washington are easily found and can be connected in no way with the wishes of our new President. Prosperity and the prospective profits of public caterers animated the Inauguration Committee to the efforts it put forth, and the success it attained. President GARFIELD had nothing to do with the matter, and some days before the 4th expressed his wish that "they wouldn't;" that the whole ceremony might be conducted with the greatest simplicity possible consistent with the greatest dignity. President GARFIELD desired nothing grander or greater—considering the position our country holds before the world, to-day, and that it occupied in 1801—than did President JEFFERSON, when astride of his horse, he rode quietly up to the capital and took the oath that made him the chief magistrate and the first gentleman of the Republic.

Two incidents were chronicled in the papers during the past week that proved the "one touch" that makes "the whole world kin." In New Orleans a New York regiment marched to a Confederate cemetery, and with a simple service, a few plain words that treated of universal brotherhood, decorated the graves of those who not many years ago were foes. The act is a counterpart of that performed by some Southern soldiers during the celebration of the battle of Bunker Hill, when the soldiers' monument at Charlestown was wreathed with flowers. New Orleans was delighted with the act of the strangers, and the whole South answered responsively to this simple act of brotherly love. It will not take many such incidents as this to do away with "the Solid South," in its old sense, forever, and leave that unpleasant remembrance of Northern mistake under the dust of the years that saw it rise and fall.

The second incident was no less animating to the national heart. As soon as President GARFIELD had taken the oath prescribed by the Constitution, he turned and kissed his mother. There were men in the crowd who sneered at his so doing. There are papers that have since hastened to make fun of the act—generally, we are sorry to remember, of an opposite political faith to the man decried,—but those who sneered represented in themselves the minority both of men and brains. The act was graceful, gratifying, and a tender tribute, before a nation, to the mother who had done so much to make President GARFIELD what he is.

THE closing hours of Congress saw the defeat in the House of the bill to send an expedition to the relief of the Jeanette. We regret this. For, while agreeing with Senator EDMUNDS that Congress should not appropriate money to encourage the shadowy hopes of those who seek an open Polar sea—which, if found, can never be anything but a pathless, wind-swept

waste of waters, a geographical curiosity,—we would not have the Congress of the United States hesitate a day to spend money for the relief of those who may lose their lives while Congress is making up its mind. It would be, indeed, a matter for regret if the brave men who carried the stars and stripes so far into the frozen North should perish merely for a whim of some Congressman or partisan, who opposes Polar research for an analogous reason to that of the Western member who voted against a bill to increase the navy, because he had "never seen a ship." We trust the fault will be remedied as soon as Congress convenes, whether it be in May or December, and that if there is a chance to rescue the expedition from death, it will be improved.

In the doings of the State Legislatures, now in session, we observe but few matters of general interest. The measure proposed simultaneously in several Legislatures to punish wife-beaters at the whipping-post, has met with a rebuff in Missouri. One member declared that if the Democrats could not govern the State without setting up the whipping-post, he would vote to turn it over to the Republicans. The bill was supported by a strong letter from Mr. BERGH, but was handsomely defeated. We do not think there is the slightest chance of its passage in any of our States.

In the matter of regulating the liquor traffic, North Carolina is disposed to go much farther than we had supposed. The House's strong license bill was voted down in the Senate, and a bill substituted which submits Prohibition to a popular vote. In Pennsylvania, the proposal to make licenses uniform throughout the State, *i.e.*, to lower the \$500 in force in Alleghany county to the miserable \$50 level in force elsewhere, was seriously debated, and brought out the fact that every member of the Legislature receives a barrel of whiskey from the association which represents this business. This is, in substance, if not in the letter of the law, a piece of wholesale bribery, and every member who accepts the gift—some few do not—has no right to regard himself as a thoroughly honest man. He is putting himself under an obligation to those whom his duty to the State may require him to disoblige.

A scurvy attempt made in the Delaware Legislature to throw mud after Mr. HAYES as he retired from office, has been tabled by a vote of eight to one in the Senate. This showed that it had passed the other branch without due consideration, and that a little reflection, accompanied with the free expression of public opinion throughout the State, showed it to be unwise because ungentlemanly. The Democrats have nothing to gain by aspersing one of the purest men that ever sat in the Presidential chair. Mr. HAYES took his office by the solemn decision of a tribunal, about whose creation and composition Mr. TILDEN had been consulted, but he had not.

Among the good bills before the Legislature of Pennsylvania, we think three worthy of mention. The first is the Municipal Government Bill, introduced by Mr. LAW, but drawn up by the Municipal Government Commission. Whatever the Regulars may think of the measure, it should receive the active support of every Independent and every Democratic member. The second is the bill to prohibit the keeping of children in our public almshouses, which we need to prevent the children of paupers from growing up as moral wrecks and a burden to the community. The third is the bill which authorizes the Board of Commissioners of Public Charities to appoint in each county an unpaid committee of five persons, two of them women, with power to visit all the charitable, reformatory and penal institutions of the county which are supported by public money. In other words, it will give us a County Commission of Public Charities, to support and supplement the work of the State Commission. A fourth is *not* Mr. WICKERSHAM'S bill to enact compulsory education, which should be postponed till the Greek Kalends.



THE English Government has begun the work of suppressing an Irish agitation, which needs no apology beyond that furnished by the speeches made last year by the members of the English Ministry, when they were trying to pass a bill to prevent evictions in the famine districts of the island. It is not easy for Americans to appreciate the full force of this *ex post facto* law, which covers offences committed four months before its passage. The most despotic of European Governments, when it makes such arrests as these, goes through the form, at least, of an investigation. The prisoner is allowed to speak for himself, and to refer the police authorities to persons who can speak for his innocence. In most cases, he is even allowed to summon such witnesses, and to have them heard and cross-examined by the official who has to pronounce upon his case. But in the operations of the Irish Coercion Law, the members of the Land League are treated with a severity the Russian police did not dare to show to the Nihilists. The prisoners are told what their offence is, and they are then marched off to jail without a hearing of any kind. They may have been able to fully establish their innocence, even in the eyes of Irish officialdom, but they are given no opportunity to do so. They are sent to prison simply upon the report of the Irish police, and the untested evidence of such *ex parte* witnesses, if any, as the police can find. Their only chance is that, if Parliament be in session, some one may raise a debate on the particular merits of a case of severity, with the likelihood of being told that all that is contradicted by the police, and that the Ministry prefer to believe their own agents. With what fairness and intelligence the Irish police are doing their part, and how they sometimes construe acts of intimidation, is seen by two prosecutions brought before a magistrates' court in the south of Ireland. Two men were brought up who had been arrested and detained, and were now to be punished for *intimidation by whistling*. One of the prosecutors who had been thus intimidated was a magistrate; but the bench of justices, being men of better education than the constables, did not choose to make themselves a laughing-stock. They laughed the whistling cases out of court. It must not be forgotten that it is a standing rule in the royal constabulary of Ireland to send Catholics to serve in Protestant districts and *vice versa*. In this way, it happens that the administration of the law in the south and west is largely in the hands of Orangemen.

THE evacuation of Candahar, in spite of Lord Lytton's efforts to create a stir in behalf of its retention, is the most courageous act in behalf of the Gladstone Government, thus far. For once, they have decided not to let the Tories prescribe a policy to them, and to abandon the "scientific frontier" which has cost the Empire so much blood, treasure and *prestige*, in a war which was organized murder and rapine, from first to last. On closer examination, it was seen that the place was not worth keeping. Southern Afghanistan is far inferior in value to the Cabul district, verging, indeed, on the barrenness of Beloochistan, on which it borders. The place is unwholesome, exposed to violent changes of weather, and not capable of such a defence as Herat, or even Cabul, would be. The garrison in possession would have to be European, as the Hindoos will not serve in a country of such winters, and the invasion of Afghanistan has all but stopped the supply of Hindoo recruits. The commercial advantages of the place are equally invisible, as it is not in the line of any great commerce, nor itself capable of furnishing an extensive market for Manchester loaded cottons and Brummagem wares.

THE pity excited by Sir GEORGE COLLEY's death in the Transvaal, is considerably diminished by the discovery that he had not yet communicated to the Boers the offers of peace sent them by the

Home Government, but had withheld them until he should win some decisive victory. The truce proposed and secured by his successor, Sir EVELYN WOOD, seems to promise a wiser and more humane policy, and even a speedy end to a war which is disgraceful to England, whatever its military outcome.

OUR record of events at home and abroad closes with the week ending March 10th:—

A coal field, six miles long and more than half a mile wide, has been discovered seventy miles north of Tucson, in Arizona.

Attorney-General Devens decided last week that a white man cannot be legally enlisted in a colored regiment.

A pastoral letter from Bishop JAGGAR was read in the Protestant Episcopal Churches of Cincinnati on the 6th, which "virtually forbids church members" from attending the Sunday lectures of the Unity Club, a Unitarian association.

The body of ARTHUR STRABOS was burned in the LE MOYNE crematory at Washington, Pa., on the 9th. A cremation society was organized in New York on the 8th, with twenty-two members. Rev. D. D. BENGLISS, chaplain of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, was elected president.

A farmer's convention has been held in Salem, Oregon, to consider the "wheat question," and has adopted a resolution condemning the law which prohibits the purchase of foreign-built ships. It is estimated that the wheat stored in the Willamette valley for export amounts to 80,000 tons.

The President has appointed WILLIAM M. EVARTS of New York, ALLEN G. THURMAN of Ohio, and TIMOTHY O. HOWE of Wisconsin, Commissioners on the part of the United States to the International Monetary Conference at Paris. Mr. N. BIRCH, Governor of the Bank of England, will represent England at the Conference.

The officers of the United States Treasury estimate the surplus revenue for the remaining four months of the present fiscal year at \$45,000,000. Of this, \$8,000,000 will be required for the sinking fund, leaving a surplus of \$37,000,000 available between now and June 30th, which the Secretary of the Treasury may use, under a recent act of Congress, to purchase bonds for cancellation.

The annual meeting of the Chicago Lumbermen's Exchange was held on the 7th. The president said, in his address, that, owing to the enormous growth of the lumber business, it will take only twenty years to exhaust the great pine forests of the country, if the present rate of depletion continues. The total receipts of lumber at Chicago during 1880 amounted to 1,564,000,000 feet.

WANG TOO, a Chinaman, went to Gothic, a new mining town in Gunnison County, Colorado, about a week ago, and started a laundry there. He was warned to leave, but disregarded the warning, and on the evening of the 5th "he was called upon by a committee and hanged." It is stated that "there is no excitement over the affair."

The International Code Committee of America held its annual meeting in New York on the 8th. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, DAVID DUDLEY FIELD; Secretary and Treasurer, A. P. SPRAGUE; Executive Committee, THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, CHARLES A. PEABODY, S. IRENEUS PRIME, F. A. P. BARNARD, WILLIAM H. HUNT, THOMAS M. COOLEY, EDWIN S. TOBEY, G. WASHINGTON WARREN, ALFRED H. LOVE, JAMES B. ANGELL, JOHN F. DILLON, FREDERICK R. COUDERT, WILLIAM PRESTON JOHNSTON, MATTHEW P. DEADY, AMASA J. PARKER and HOWARD PAYSON WELLS. The following delegates were appointed to the Conference for the Codification of the Laws of Nations, to meet in Cologne on the 16th of August next: DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, CHARLES A. PEABODY, F. A. P. BARNARD, A. P. SPRAGUE, AMASA J. PARKER, ANDREW P. PEABODY, F. R. COUDERT, VINCENZO BOTTA, GEORGE W. CULLUM, JOHN JAY, JOHN JACOB ASTOR, CHARLES H. BALDWIN, FRANKLIN H. DELANO, S. I. PRIME, JOHNSON T. PLATT, PAUL S. FORBES, HENRY M. HERMON and ALEXANDER PORTER MORSE.

A cable has been successfully laid between Cienfuegos and Santiago de Cuba.

A petition has been presented to the Dominion Parliament for the impeachment of Chief Justice WOOD, of Manitoba.

All the resident clergy, except the Catholics, of Victoria, have been engaged to open with prayer, alternately, the Parliament of British Columbia.

A telegram from Montreal reports that Bishop FABRE has condemned the practice of swearing Catholic witnesses on Protestant Bibles as a sin.

The British trade returns for February show that the imports of Great Britain increased \$16,761,183, and the exports \$1,621,900, as compared with February of last year.

The French Government has resolved to recall the French representative in Venezuela, in consequence of the twenty years' bad faith to the French creditors by the Government of that country.

A telegram from Bogota says the Executive of the United States of Columbia has contracted with the Central and South American Cable Company for a cable North and South from the Isthmus of Panama, to connect with the United States and Europe via Central America and Mexico.

German ship-owners have declared, at a meeting at Dantzig, that the proposition to help them by an impost upon foreign ships trading in German harbors, is not acceptable. They say they prefer competing in the great markets of the world to being allowed special advantages at home.

The Committee of the Chamber of Deputies for the protection of slaves in Cuba, has proposed the abolition of corporal punishment and the enfranchisement of all slaves not included in the registration of 1870. The Colonial Minister promises to take the recommendations of the Committee into consideration.

The plague has appeared in Mesopotamia. It appeared first at Djaffar. There have been eighteen deaths at Nefer and thirty at Cuora. The most energetic measures have been taken to prevent the spread of the disease. Thirty-five persons have died in Kerbela, Nedjeff, and Djogra, in the province of Bagdad.

The *Western Morning News* correspondent at Cape Coast Castle telegraphs that all apprehensions of an Ashantee war have ceased. The King has sent a reply saying that he desires peace. He asks the delivery of fugitives, but asserts that he never intended to make war, and is sorry that his first message was so understood.

The Portuguese Chamber of Deputies, after seven days' debate with closed doors, has adopted the LORENZO MARQUES treaty with England. The treaty makes no concession of territory to England, but gives her the right of way for commercial and military purposes. England thus gains access by Delagoa Bay to her South African colonies, which is an important and strategic commercial advantage.

#### THE NEXT REFUNDING BILL.

WE think it most likely that Mr. HAYES, by his veto of the Funding Bill of the expiring Congress, has rendered necessary an extra session for the settlement of the Funding Question. A very large amount of Government bonds are to fall due during the present year, and unless they are redeemed, the Treasury must go on paying five or six per cent. interest on them, instead of three and a half or four per cent. on new bonds to take their place. This loss will be much greater than the whole expense of an extra session, which costs little more than the mileage of the members, and the running expenses of the two Houses. The members draw just the same salaries, and the officers will be paid at just the same rate, whether Congress meets in March or not until December.

While there have been some changes in the composition of the Senate, these have not been sufficient to insure us against a repetition of the voting which rejected the excellent amendments of the Senate's Finance Committee, and which passed the Bill much as it came from the House. The political composition of the Senate is still uncertain, with probabilities in favor of the renewal of the effort to pass a three per cent. bill, with clauses unfair to the National Banks, and therefore as certain of a veto from Mr. GARFIELD as from Mr. HAYES. The House, on the other hand, with a small Republican majority and some sound Democrats, is pretty certain to take a different view. It will seek to originate a Funding Bill which will be fair to all interests, while getting the best possible terms for the Government. It is, therefore, not improbable that in this important matter there will be a dead-lock between the two bodies, and no satisfactory action.

The question of the rate of interest to be offered is the fundamental one. Even the offensive clauses for the coercion of the National Banks had for their purpose to force or facilitate the sale of bonds at three per cent. And most of the advocates of the lower rate are quite honest in believing that the Government can borrow at this rate, while some are not capable of an intelligent opinion, but think a fight for three per cent. a fine chance for making party capital. With a view to removing this stumbling-block, and giving all honest men a chance to come to an understanding, we suggest a change in the method of putting this loan before the country. Of late years the American Treasury has decided at what rate it will borrow, and has asked for bids as to the quantity the purchasers will take at par. But several of the European Governments, pursue a different method. They ask the bidders for a public loan to specify at what rate of interest they will take the loan at par, and then they take the lowest bids offered. Even when they do not put their proposals into exactly this shape, they so manage matters as to secure what is the equivalent of such a bid. Thus, the East India Government recently appeared in the London money-market and asked for bids for a loan of three millions of pounds sterling. It was very commonly expected that they would have to pay four per cent. at the least. But when the bids were opened, it was found that the whole amount needed had been offered at less than three and a half per cent., the most favorable terms they ever had secured. Had they followed our American method, that loan would have cost them one-half of one per cent. per annum more than it actually did.

It is true that much larger loans than the above have to be effected in this matter of refunding. But it is true, also, that the position of our national bonds as privileged investments creates a demand for them far greater than for any other species of security. The demand for the four and one-half per cent. bonds was far in excess of any one's anticipation; and everyone remembers how the remnant of four per cents., represented by Mr. SHERMAN'S Post-Office Certificates, was snatched up as soon as accessible. It is believed by some of our practical financiers that the holders of trust funds would at once take between three and four hundred millions at three per cent. This belief may prove to be unfounded, but the experiment is worth trying, when it can be tried without running the risk of a somewhat disheartening failure.

It has been the rule, rather than the exception, of late years for solvent Governments to be astonished at the facility with which they can borrow. If the advocates of three per cent. bonds are right as to the excellence of the national credit being sufficient to float such bonds, the plan we suggest would prove their accuracy. If they are mistaken, we shall have escaped dangerous and discrediting experiments with the public credit, and yet have secured the lowest rate which the competition of the money market could furnish.

The same method might be applied to the issue of the Treasury notes which Mr. SHERMAN proposed as a part of the refunding measures. The English Exchequer issues such notes, redeemable at a very early date, and takes bids for their purchase. The bids specify what present payment the bidder will make for the security that he shall receive a hundred pounds one year hence, two years hence, or as the case may be. That is, he deducts at once the interest, and is paid the principal when the note falls due. This method has produced results which are surprising. It might be expected that for such brief loans high rates of interest would be asked, but in some cases the Exchequer has borrowed at rates less than three per cent.

Let us try this European way of testing what our Government credit is worth, and thus escape an interminable and mischievous discussion, in which neither party can refute and neither can convince the other.



## PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, March 9th, 1881.

THE last days of the Forty-sixth Congress were crowded with business, and the gavel fell at the expiration of the appointed time, upon a mass of unfinished legislation. The usual ceremonies took place. During the latter half of the week the Senate, in executive session, has not accomplished anything of moment.

## SENATE.

*Thursday, March 3.*—The resolution of the Milwaukee Merchants' Association, commemorative of the late Senator CARPENTER, were submitted and read. A memorial was also submitted from the citizens of Brooklyn, commending the clause in the treaty with China in relation to the opium trade. The supplemental Funding Bill received from the House on the previous question was laid before the Senate by the Vice-President, read a second time and referred to the Finance Committee. Mr. WALLACE of Pennsylvania, chairman of the sub-committee on the subject, reported back from the Committee on Appropriations, with amendments, the Deficiency Appropriation Bill. A resolution was adopted directing an inquiry by the Committee on Public Business into the expediency of the appointment of a joint committee to investigate the various systems of electric lights, with a view to a selection for Government purposes. The Senate insisting upon its amendments to the Sundry Civil Bill, appointed Messrs. BECK of Kentucky, DAVIS of West Virginia, and WINDOM of Minnesota, the conference committee. On motion of Mr. WALLACE of Pennsylvania, the Deficiency Appropriation bill was taken up. In Committee of the Whole the bill was read, and the amendments of the Senate committee agreed to as reached. After a few other amendments had been made, the bill was reported to the Senate, read a third time and passed. A concurrent resolution was adopted, continuing until the next Congress the joint select committee on the library. The Apportionment Bill was received and referred to the Committee on Census. At 5 P. M. a recess was taken until 8.30 P. M.

At the evening session the Chair announced the Japanese Indemnity Fund Bill as the regular order, but Mr. EATON of Connecticut yielded the floor temporarily to Mr. WITHERS of Virginia, chairman of the Pensions Committee, and a number of private pension bills were passed. Messrs. WALLACE of Pennsylvania, DAVIS of West Virginia, and BOOTH of California, were appointed the Conference Committee on the Deficiency Bill. The credentials of WILLIAM J. SEWELL, Senator-elect from New Jersey, were presented, read and filed. A communication was received from the President, announcing the resignation of Secretary of the Treasury SHERMAN. The Japanese Indemnity Fund Bill was passed—yeas, 56; nays, 6. The conference report on the Sundry Civil Bill was presented. An agreement had been reached on all points except the payment of one month's extra compensation to officers and employes on the roll of the House on July 1, 1880, insisted on by the House. The report was agreed to. A resolution by Mr. BAYARD of Delaware was agreed to, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to report at the regular session in December a detailed statement of all fees and costs collected from American shipping during the present fiscal year. A resolution embodying the thanks of the Senate to the Vice-President for his courtesy, ability and impartiality in presiding over the present session, was adopted by an unanimous vote. At 5 A. M. a recess was taken until 9.30 A. M.

*Friday.*—There was no quorum present until 10.30. On beginning business, the Vice-President announced the signing of the enrolled Sundry Civil and Deficiency Appropriation Bills. At 10.50, Major General HANCOCK, with Col. MITCHELL, of his staff, under the escort of Senator BLAINE, entered the Senate, and was received with much applause. All the Senators present shook him warmly by the hand. Soon afterward, the arrival of General SHERIDAN aroused another burst of enthusiasm. At 11.20 o'clock the Diplomatic Corps entered, and occupied the seats of Senators on the right of the Chair. Later, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court entered, and were seated in the space immediately in front and to the right of the Vice-President, the Senate meanwhile confining itself to the half of the semi-circle of seats to the left, with members of the House. The committee appointed to wait on the President reported that he had no further communication to make, except a message transmitting the call for a Senate executive session, and shortly afterward the Presidential procession, headed by President HAYES and President-elect GARFIELD, entered, and, two minutes later, was followed by Vice-President-elect ARTHUR, in charge of a sub-committee, all present in the chamber rising upon each occasion. Vice-President-elect ARTHUR was then introduced by Vice-President WHEELER, and made the usual formal address, after which the oath of office was administered to him. Vice-President WHEELER then made a farewell address, concluding by declaring that the hour for the termination of the Forty-sixth Congress having arrived, the Senate stood adjourned without day. Vice-President ARTHUR then assumed the Chair. The existence of the new Senate was then made

known by the reading of the official proclamation of the President. A roll-call disclosed the presence of seventy-two Senators. Meanwhile, the House of Representatives arrived. The Vice-President announced that the Sergeant-at-Arms would now execute the order of the Senate relative to the inaugural ceremonies of the President of the United States.

*Saturday.*—Vice-President ARTHUR called the Senate to order at noon. After prayer, the Vice-President stated that he had received a number of petitions for special legislation. In his opinion they could not be presented at an extraordinary session under the rules, and he submitted the question of their disposition to the Senate. After conversation, it was resolved that the Vice-President retain the petitions, and present them for consideration at the next legislative session. On motion of Mr. HOAR of Massachusetts a resolution was unanimously adopted according the privilege of the floor to General WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK during his stay in Washington. Mr. BLAINE of Maine presented his resolution relative to the appointment of a committee to consider changes in the method of voting for President and Vice-President and the mode of counting the votes; temporarily laid on the table to be printed. Mr. PENDLETON of Ohio, from the Committee of Notification, reported that the President had expressed a desire to communicate with the Senate at 3 o'clock, and at 12.20 the Senate took a recess until that hour. On re-assembling, at five minutes after three o'clock, a message was received from the President, and Mr. CAMERON of Pennsylvania moved to proceed to the consideration of executive business. The motion prevailed, and the doors were closed. On re-opening the doors, at 4.45 P. M., the Senate adjourned until Monday.

*Monday.*—Immediately after the reading of the journal, Senator-elect MAHONE of Virginia was sworn in. He subscribed to the modified oath, and took his seat on the Republican side, in the rear row, next to Senator MITCHELL of Pennsylvania. The Senate then, at 12.15 P. M., adjourned.

*Tuesday.*—The Senate convened at noon, and the Vice-President laid before the Senate the communications of ex-Senators KIRKWOOD of Iowa and BLAINE of Maine, stating that they had forwarded notices of their resignations as members of the Senate. They were ordered filed. After an executive session, there was an immediate adjournment.

*Wednesday.*—The Senate convened at 12 M. A telegram from the Governor of Iowa was read, announcing the appointment of J. W. MCDILL to fill the unexpired term of Senator KIRKWOOD. At 12.20, P. M., a message from the President was received, and, on motion of Mr. PENDLETON of Ohio the Senate went into executive session. Upon the re-opening of the doors, the Senate, at 12.45, P. M., adjourned.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

*Thursday, March 3.*—After the reading of the journal, a message was received from the President, being the veto of the Funding Bill, and it was, at 12.20, taken from the Speaker's table and read. Mr. TUCKER of Virginia moved that the message be printed and laid upon the table. Mr. ROBESON of New Jersey moved its immediate consideration. Mr. TUCKER's motion was agreed to. Mr. COX of New York moved to suspend the rules and pass an apportionment bill on the basis of 307. He then amended his motion so as to have votes taken on 322, 319, 315 and 307. The rules being suspended, 322 was rejected—yeas, 119; nays, 142. A vote was then taken on 319, which was agreed to—yeas, 136; nays, 123. The bill was then passed—yeas, 143; nays, 113. A bill was passed construing an act to reimburse the State of Kentucky for money expended for militia purposes to aid in suppressing the rebellion. The House, at 4.30 P. M., took a recess until 8 o'clock.

On reassembling, the Senate amendments to the Deficiency Bill were non-concurred in. A motion to suspend the rules and proceed to the consideration of Senate pension bills met with much opposition, but finally prevailed. On the first pension bill, however, a number of Democrats refused to vote, and left the House without a quorum. After points of order and similar tactics had consumed much time, the pension bills were passed.

*Friday.*—The House met at ten o'clock. Mr. COX of New York having taken the Chair, Mr. SPRINGER of Illinois offered the following resolution:

"That the thanks of this House are due and tendered the Hon. SAMUEL J. RANDALL, the Speaker, for the ability, fairness and courtesy with which he has presided over its deliberations, during the Forty-sixth Congress."

This resolution was adopted, the only negative vote being cast by Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. At twelve o'clock, Speaker RANDALL made an address, commencing with: "The work of the Forty-sixth Congress is done." He then reviewed the labors of the past sessions, and returned his thanks for the vote of thanks with which members on every side had honored him. In conclusion, he said: "For myself, I shall retire from the Speaker's chair with no unkind feeling toward a solitary member. Wishing you, one and all, a safe return to your homes, it only remains for me, in obedience to the mandate of the Constitution, to declare this House adjourned without day."

## THE SOUTH.

## A SYMPOSIUM.

IN THE AMERICAN for February 5, we published the first instalment of a series of letters from Southern men in review of the Southern political situation, with reference to national affairs. These letters were elicited by questions in writing, with the sole object of bringing about a better understanding between North and South, to the end that national unity may be promoted through the obliteration of sectional lines. All of the replies received are from men whose relations to the Federal and State Governments, or whose social and political antecedents and influence, make their opinions of great value to the student of contemporary politics. In the publishing of them from week to week, regard is had to a classification according to States, going southward from the Potomac, and beginning with the two Virginias. In the issue for February 5, letters were printed from Hon. A. H. H. STUART, ex-Secretary of the Interior; Senator WITHERS, Lieut.-Gov. WALKER, and Representative JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER. In our issue for February 12, letters were printed from Senator JOHN W. JOHNSTON, Representative R. L. T. BEALE, Professor B. PURYEAR, and Governor MATHEWS, of West Virginia. On February 19th, we published letters from Senator Z. B. VANCE, Representative W. H. KITCHIN, Ex-Congressman WADDELL, Representative A. M. SCALES, and Judge W. N. H. SMITH, of North Carolina. In the succeeding number, that for February 26, we opened the discussion upon South Carolina with letters from Senator M. C. BUTLER, Representative JOHN S. RICHARDSON, Representative M. P. O'CONNOR, ex-Representative E. W. M. MACKEY and Senator WADE HAMPTON. In the issue succeeding, the discussion of South Carolina was concluded with communications from Representative D. WYATT AIKEN and Judge J. B. KERSHAW.

To obtain this information, it was deemed expedient to indicate a common line of discussion, and the letter addressed to each Southerner, to which a reply was sent, was as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, January 1, 1881.

DEAR SIR:—There is a strong desire among the better elements in the Republican party at the North to do away with that bar to the highest national political prosperity known as "the Solid South," not merely for the good it would do the South, but also for the benefit it would unquestionably do the North in obliterating a cause of sectional suggestions and harmful dividing lines. The North is sincere in this.

We here can conceive of no better way of arriving at a solution of the question than by obtaining, considering and adopting, so far as we see it to be possible, the opinion of the South upon the best means of removing the bugbear. THE AMERICAN intends to do what lies in its power to promote this end by laying before its Northern readers the views of Southern men whose position and knowledge entitle them to speak. Will you not, therefore, kindly oblige THE AMERICAN and the conservative Republicans at the North by replying to the following questions?

1. Has the "Carpet-Bag" influence been hurtful or helpful in your State; and in what way as regards educational, political, social and commercial prosperity?
2. How far has this Carpet-Bag influence been opposed or fostered by State legislation and public opinion?
3. Have the Carpet-Baggers had a fair chance to be honest, or are the troubles which have arisen traceable to weakness of character in the Carpet-Baggers?
4. Is the Carpet-Bag influence with you on the wane, or is it waxing; and why?
5. Are the Northern Democrats a help or a hindrance to Southern political prosperity? If so, what is the remedy?
6. What is the condition of the negro party, and what is its future?
7. Has the time come, or is it near, when the white people of your State will seek affiliation with new parties?
8. What have been the errors in the treatment of the South by the Northern power?
9. What would the South like to have from Northern politicians, the Republican party and the President-elect?
10. What does the South need from them?
11. What does the South expect to get from them?
12. Is public opinion in your State fairly in accord with your own?

## GEORGIA.

NOT without reason is Georgia called the Empire State of the South; and her people might as fitly be called the most progressive of Southerners. Standing in the streets of the city of Atlanta,—at once the flower and fruit of progress,—one might easily imagine himself feeling the heart-throb of some great industrial centre of the North. True, Georgia has yet a long way to go before arriving at the height of prosperity to which she may reasonably look forward; but she is so far advanced already that her thrifty people no longer dwell on the past or

dawdle over the present; they live in the future, and therein set an example to the people of every other Southern State.

The progressive impulses of the State were awakened long before the war between the States began. Georgia might have slumbered peacefully, only now and then arousing herself to the little exertion necessary for the maintenance of life under a genial climate which keeps Nature steadily at work without exacting much assistance from man. Even the burden of slavery, under which some of her sister Commonwealths groaned, did not rest heavily enough upon this one to impede her progress; and in 1860, Georgia was, by general admission, the leading State in the South. Slavery, however, was weighty enough to turn the scale in favor of the secession of the State, against the judgment of some of her ablest sons, and in January, 1861, Georgia joined the Southern Confederacy, becoming forthwith one of the strongest pillars of the new Government. For a long while her sons went freely to the front, followed by the most liberal contributions of produce and manufactures for the use of the army; but it was not until the war was half over, that her own soil was made to run with blood. When the blow really fell, however, it fell heavily, and everything was prostrated before it. Gen. SHERMAN's famous march to the sea will be ever memorable in the annals of Georgia; and it was preceded by a campaign ending in the fall of Atlanta, which was attended by great loss of life, as well as by great loss of property. In the autumn of 1864 and the winter of 1864-65, there was scarcely a square mile of Georgia territory that did not pay its tribute to the conqueror, and there was no horror of war that the people did not suffer. Neglected fields, pillaged barns, abandoned factories, and cities in ashes, were the reward of Georgia's devotion to the Confederacy.

Peace was welcomed by the people. In the autumn of 1865, a convention elected by popular vote, repealed the ordinance of secession, repudiated the Confederate debt, and made human servitude illegal. Then a Legislature was elected which ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, and a new State Government was instituted; but Congress was not satisfied with the way in which these things were done. Under the reconstruction acts, all of the State officers, executive, legislative and judicial, were set aside, and Georgia was united with Alabama and Florida in a military district, with a provisional government. Another constitutional convention was ordered, and in the election of its members no person who had ever held civil office of honor or profit in the State was allowed to take part, while all white and colored males over 21 years of age enjoyed the right to vote. The result was a crude organic law, but one that stood the test of loyalty applied by the Washington authorities. A new State Government was set up, the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified, and the State once more knocked at the door of the Union for readmission. But she was to wait a while longer. The Legislature failing to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment, Georgia was once more remanded to military rule, and not until that Amendment was ratified was her Congressional delegation seated. About this time occurred the maladministration of State officials and the corruption of the Legislature, which made so great a scandal, the result of which was the saddling of the Commonwealth with a debt under which she long staggered, and a part of which she afterwards inconsiderately repudiated. Truth requires the admission that Republican administration was responsible for the era of corruption, and that honesty did not resume possession of the capital until the scalawags and carpet-baggers were given their walking papers.

For nearly ten years now Georgia's course has been onward and upward, the only blot upon her record or bar to her progress in this decade being the repudiation which has tempted speculators to trade on her dishonor. Meanwhile, a new civilization has grown up; the Bourbon has either taken a back seat or conformed himself to the spirit of progress; agriculture has assumed new and more profitable forms; manufactures have increased until there are now forty cotton factories and one hundred furnaces within a day's ride of Atlanta; mining has become an industry employing the labor of thousands. The town of Atlanta has become a great city, with arms reaching out in all directions to bring wealth to her people. Whites and blacks work and vote with toleration, side by side; education is free, popular and general; in no State are the negroes so prosperous. Ten years ago they paid taxes on property whose assessed value was not \$100,000; now they pay taxes upon a valuation of \$6,000,000. This is because they are given a fair chance before the law and by public opinion. In Georgia less than anywhere else in the South, is Democracy hide-bound. Political independence thrives; there is a persistent effort to keep the people in party traces, but they will not stay there. With great resources, with industry the rule of life, with hope in the future, and no thoughts wasted upon the past, Georgia must keep the lead which she has taken among Southern States. Others may follow, but they cannot overtake her in the lifetime of this generation, or of the next.

SENATOR BENJAMIN HARVEY HILL.

THERE are few Southern politicians who are better known to the whole country than BEN HILL, as he always has been and ever will be



called. The law is his profession, and he is regarded as a man of fine ability in that line; but from early manhood he has been a politician. Born in 1823, he was admitted to the bar in 1845, and became a member of the Legislature in 1851. Thenceforward he was a prominent figure in State and Federal politics, although he was somewhat slow in acquiring a national reputation. His first political affiliations were with the Whig party, and from that he gravitated into the American party, whose unsuccessful candidate he was for Congress in 1855, and for Governor in 1857. For the latter office he was beaten by Jos. E. BROWN, who is now his colleague in the Senate. The approach of the secession craze found him a staunch Unionist. He was a Bell and Everett elector in 1860, and, as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1861, opposed and voted against the secession of Georgia, until it was an accomplished fact against which no man in the State could stand. Then he was elected as a member of the Confederate House of Representatives, and subsequently to the Confederate Senate, where he distinguished himself as an able legislator. At the close of the war he was one of the unlucky scape-goats of secession who were arrested and imprisoned in Northern forts. On his release, he devoted himself assiduously to the practice of law, and is said to have amassed a snug fortune before he was elected to the House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth Congress. It was as a member of that Congress that he had his famous pass with BLAINE, which made BLAINE'S reputation as a stalwart, and caused HILL, who had been regarded in his own State as a Conservative, to appear before the North as the embodiment of Bourbonism, a character which he yet wears in the popular mind, much to the amusement of his constituents. He was re-elected to the Forty-fifth Congress, but resigned to go to the Senate, where he now sits for a term expiring in 1883.

UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER,  
WASHINGTON, January 31, 1881.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR: I owe you an apology for not answering your several letters sooner. I have been in doubt as to what I could do or ought to do at this time as to the matter you suggest. I appreciate very highly your desire for purer politics and a better sectional feeling. I know of nothing which should more interest a patriot. But for reasons which I am not at liberty fully to explain to you at this time, I think I can render better service, even in the direction suggested, than by writing communications for the public.

I have reason to hope we are on the eve of better things in our politics. I shall be seriously disappointed if we do not make much progress upward in our politics in the next four years. I am certainly enlisted in that work. But at present the work to be done is not *public* work. The people are already prepared for it. The work must begin elsewhere,—with leaders. I can say no more at present.

This much I will now say: The *great error* of the North towards the South since the war has consisted in insisting that the Southern people *desired to destroy the Government*, and were actuated by a treasonable or criminal intent.

Our people had been taught to believe and did believe that secession was a right reserved to, or not surrendered by, the States, and they sought to exercise it in defence of a property *unfortunately* recognized by the Constitution. I did not concur with them in this view of secession, or its availability as a means of defence; but they were honest in their views, and thought they had a right to leave the Union with *twenty-seven* States, which began with *nine*. It never occurred to them that this was *destroying* the Union. Thousands of Northern men, in every generation since the Constitution was formed, had taught the doctrine the South sought to exercise. The result of the contest settled the issue against the South. The North had a right to insist upon their views. It was an honest difference of *opinion*. Each side bravely defended its views. The South frankly surrendered and abandoned the doctrine of secession and the property that doctrine was invoked to defend. For *defending* their *honest* convictions, they were treated as *conscious traitors* and *criminals*. The whole policy, after the war, was based on this mistake, and all the horrors of reconstruction and carpet-bag-ism resulted.

At some future time I will develop fully this idea, with a sincere desire to heal sectional animosities, and will also give you some views on other subjects suggested by you.

I am very much pleased with THE AMERICAN, and read it with much profit.

With highest regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

BENJAMIN H. HILL.

#### MR. AUGUSTUS O. BACON.

MR. AUGUSTUS O. BACON is the present Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, the senior member of the law firm of BACON & RUTHERFORD, of Macon, Georgia, and a gentleman who has for years wielded an influence in shaping the course of Georgia politics. Mr. BACON'S letter, though a trifle longer than the purposes of our symposium had contemplated, is nevertheless a very interesting presentation of the Southern problem from Mr. BACON'S standpoint. It is as follows:

MACON, Georgia, January 18th, 1881.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of inquiry upon a number of points concerning the situation in the South, and particularly as to some matters affecting the relations, social

and political, of the peoples of the North and South. Ordinarily, I would decline to intrude upon a field which more properly belongs to those whose position lays upon them the duty of dealing with the subject of Federal politics; but you have addressed me officially, as the Speaker of the House of Representatives of this State, with the statement that it is the desire of the conservative Republicans of the North to hear the views of men holding public position at the South. Under these circumstances, I am induced to respond to your letter, in the hope that I may give some information of the feelings and motives of the people of the South, and thus contribute, in some slight degree, to the promotion of that better understanding between the two sections, a desire for which you represent as sincerely animating the conservative members of the Republican party.

To reply satisfactorily to all your inquiries, would require a series of letters, rather than one, and a response to even a few of the more important will, I fear, require more space than you will find it convenient to yield to it.

The first four questions propounded by you relative to the "carpet-baggers" in this State, their history and influence, past and present, lead me to remark at the outset that they furnish an illustration of the fact that heretofore the North has not thought it important to be correctly informed as to the condition of the South. The Government of this State has been for ten years past under the unchallenged and undisputed control of the Democratic party. Not only has there been no "carpet-bag" influence, but during this time there has been no serious effort by the Republicans to recover a party ascendancy which was lost to them in 1870. The Republican party had but three years of rule in Georgia, and even during that time it was not a rule of "carpet-baggers." The Republican Governor was not a carpet-bagger. Although a man of Northern birth and education, he had resided in Georgia prior to the war, and still resides here, then and now engaged in active industrial enterprises. And while there was much that Democrats found objectionable in his administration, I do not now recall a single man appointed by him to any high and responsible office, to whom the term "carpet-bagger" could be legitimately applied. The State Government has, therefore, never been entirely under carpet-bag control, notwithstanding the fact that, during the short Republican rule, there were many of this class who were active in the politics of the State and exercised some influence upon its government. There is, therefore, little to be said in reply to your several inquiries as to their influence for good or for evil in this State; although it may furnish an indirect reply to the spirit of your inquiries, to point, in this State, to the growing prosperity, the peaceful relations between the races, the progress of impartial public education, and the general contentment which has marked our history during the past ten years, as well as the present unprecedented public credit of the State, which, without effort, sustains a four per cent. bond at par. These are some of the many striking evidences of the wholesome influences of a people upon their own government, sustained and controlled by themselves, and they are in marked contrast with the decay of material interests, the social disorder and strife, and the public bankruptcy, which have been the distinguishing features of some other less fortunate States, which for years have been ruled, not by their own citizens, but by those whom you call "carpet-baggers."

Before dismissing this subject, I wish to remove one misapprehension which, doubtless, rests in the minds of many of your readers. The term "carpet-bagger" is not a complimentary one. It was not designed as such when originally applied, and the person who is properly entitled to it does not enjoy any large share of the esteem of the people of the South; and when he is clearly identified in the minds of the people of the North, he will be equally far from exciting either their admiration or their sympathy. The person thus designated is not a *bona fide* settler, but simply an adventurer, without desire for legitimate business, and with no love for the locality where he temporarily sojourns—a political tramp, with all of his worldly effects contained in the convenient receptacle from which he takes his name—here to-day and gone to-morrow; but wherever the spoil is rich and continuous, as tenacious of his hold as was the old man of the sea. He is now a thing of the past, and I should not endeavor to revive the unpleasant recollections of his career, but that your inquiries indicate that you believe he still survives among us in some shape. His occupation is gone, and he has fled with it. There have remained behind him, however, the evils which he inflicted upon the material interests of the communities upon which he fastened himself, and which will not all disappear in a generation to come. To control public opinion in his favor at the North, the effort has been industriously made to produce the impression that the term "carpet-bagger," thus made odious, was applied by Southerners indiscriminately to all Northern men who sought to make their homes in the South, and that all such were met with ostracism and personal disrespect. The "carpet-bagger" and his apologists have thus sought to elevate his rank and excite sympathy in his behalf, by confusing him with a very different class of men, with whom he has in reality neither identity nor connection. If this charge made against the South were true, it would properly excite the resentment of the people of the North. That it is largely credited, is indicated by the number of those who, after a short residence among us, openly express their surprise to find it otherwise; and as you have called on me for my testimony, I will say most emphatically that it is without foundation in fact. The coming of Northern men as *bona fide* settlers is cordially desired by us, and it makes comparatively little difference whether they be Republicans or Democrats. The most distinguished illustration of this truth will be found in the case of Judge Woods, lately appointed to the Supreme Court bench. During the entire time of his residence in this State, he has met at the hands of our people the most marked consideration and the sincerest hospitality. Upon the announcement through the press of his nomination by the President, the lawyers throughout the State promptly and voluntarily united in the public expression of their desire for his confirmation by the Senate, and in this I am sure they reflected the wish of the people at large. What has been verified in his case, is also true of thousands of others less prominent in position. It may seem a little extravagant to those not well

informed, but I will venture the assertion that there is not a community of two thousand persons in this State, where there will not be found Northern men among its most honored and trusted citizens. I recognize that it will be a great point gained in the direction of the perfect reconciliation which you seek, when it is known among the people of the North that their coming will not only be welcomed, but is desired. In this day of telegraphs and railroads and newspapers, their ignorance of the fact can only be accounted for on the supposition that a large portion of the Northern press has failed to seek thorough information of the feelings and condition of the South, and that it has not been heretofore to the interest of the partisan press to give such information correctly to its readers. And now, when, at this late day, the conviction is beginning to dawn that injustice is being done to the opinions and motives of this section, statements concerning the Southern people are being published as wonderful discoveries, which could, upon slight investigation, have been ascertained to be true ten years ago.

But while this immigration of Northern men is desired, we do not want our condition or motives misunderstood. We are not in distress, calling for help. We welcome the energy and capital of the North as we welcome them from any other source; and we know that they will seek us or not, from any source, according as it may be to their interest to do so. All we ask is that the facts concerning the South which will decide this question of interest may not continue to be misrepresented, either carelessly or willfully, to the civilized world. This energy and this capital, if they come, will hasten our progress; but our future is assured, even if left to ourselves. Our climate (another Southern feature very much misunderstood at the North,) is both healthful and pleasant, subject to neither the extremes of heat nor cold experienced in more Northern latitudes; while our opportunities for mining, manufacturing and agricultural industries are practically unlimited. Our people are not idlers, as the typical Southerner is so frequently represented in contrast with his more industrious Northern brother. Cities rebuilt, railroads reconstructed, factories set in motion, mines developed, commercial activity and an immense agricultural product,—all deny this. The opinions of some to the contrary notwithstanding, the people of Georgia are out of debt and on the highroad to riches; and in the past decade even the great States of New York and Pennsylvania have failed to keep pace with this State in the ratio of increased population. In the list of all the States, Georgia stands eighth in the manufacture of cotton goods; and the percentage of her increase in this industry, during the last ten years, is very little less than twice as great as the percentage of increase in Massachusetts, the largest cotton manufacturing State in the Union. No people could, in fifteen years, have risen from the very ashes of disastrous war to such a pitch of social and material recuperation, unless they had been orderly, intelligent, brave and industrious. To these undeniable results, we point as unimpeachable witnesses.

Our domestic, social and political relations are none the less satisfactory. The most difficult questions of this class grow out of the presence, in nearly equal numbers, of the two races. The negro does not ask or desire social equality with the whites, and thus there is no clash on this point. Politically, he has before the law, not only theoretically but practically, perfect equality with the whites. In the courts, equal justice is meted out to him. In this county, he has sat upon the juries for more than ten years; and during the past year, in the elementary public free schools of the county, while there were but sixteen hundred and fifty white children enrolled, there were sixteen hundred and ninety-nine colored children in attendance.

In politics, the negroes were, twelve years ago, solidly Republican, with here and there an individual exception. From association and habit, I believe, the large majority of them are still in sentiment Republican. Practically, however, except in Presidential elections, this party alignment is lost sight of, for the reason that, in consequence of the twenty-five thousand white majority in the State, almost all contests for office are now between Democrats, and the negro votes for whichever one he prefers, and is as enthusiastic in support of his Democratic favorite as if he were a Republican. The great political war-cry of "a free ballot and a fair count" has now no justification in Georgia. The negro votes as freely and his ballot is counted as fairly in Georgia as if he were white. To say that there has never in the last ten years been an election fraud of any kind in the State, would be to deny those things which have occurred, and which will continue at times to occur, under any government (that of Pennsylvania not excepted,) where political office is secured by a popular vote. And while I have no doubt there have been, during that period, instances of election frauds by both Democrats and Republicans in this State, I believe that elections are conducted here as fairly as they are at the North; and as every ballot is required by law to be numbered before it is placed in the ballot-box, we know nothing of the tissue ballots which seem so much to affect the Northern elections.

Your question as to the future of the "negro party" in this State, opens too wide a field of speculation to be entered upon, generally, at this time. Of one thing, however, I feel perfectly assured. The negroes will never again be wielded solidly, as a political power, by the Republican or any other party. Their fears of a return to slavery, and their hopes of material rewards to result from party success, under which they were such ardent politicians twelve years ago, have all been dissipated. They have learned that their political and material rights are safe in the hands of the native whites; and as few of them have any personal political aspirations, a very large proportion of them are indifferent to the exercise of their right to vote and can only be gotten to the polls by diligent canvassing. As a party, they will never again march to the polls in solid ranks, as of yore. Whether the division of the colored vote between two parties of a divided white vote, will be of public benefit, is a very grave question which the near future will determine. But, at all events, if the Republican party ever had a mission to secure to the negro his full rights of citizenship, that mission is ended, so far as Georgia is concerned. We would not re-enslave him if we could, and we would not take

away from him the right to vote if we had the power so to do; for, aside from any other reason, in his exercise of this right the South has a power in Congress and in the Electoral College, which she does not propose, voluntarily, to surrender. In truth, there is sometimes anticipated the coming of the day when the North will seek to disfranchise the negro and when the South will be his chief protector in the contest which will ensue; and all right-thinking men among us recognize that if our section is to be profited by the possession of the ballot by the negro, the principles of justice and of honor dictate that he should enjoy perfect freedom in his use of it. One word more as to the condition and privileges of the negro. I noticed, a short time since, an excerpt from THE AMERICAN containing a statement to the effect that a negro could not readily buy land at the South. There has not been a day in twelve years when he could not have bought as much land in Georgia as he could pay for; and, during this time, good land has been so cheap, that he could, by industry and economy, have saved enough out of one year's wages to purchase a decent sized farm. Many of them have bought lands, and taxes are now paid by colored men in Georgia on nearly \$6,000,000 worth of property. At a full valuation, this property is doubtless worth more than \$10,000,000. The predictions that the negroes would die out after emancipation have been already falsified. They are a prolific race, and the recent census of children within the school ages shows that they are increasing by births much more rapidly than the whites. This material prosperity and this rapid increase in their numbers would not be seen if they were maltreated and oppressed by the people of the South, as is so generally believed at the North. While here, as elsewhere among all people, there are individual instances of injustice, such things have neither sympathy nor countenance from the general community. On the contrary, it is both the inclination and the interest of the whites to see that the negroes are protected in all their rights. The latter, as a class, well understand this; their relations with the whites are most kindly; they are contented; they feel identified both with our people and with our section, and, in spite of all efforts to entice them away, I have no doubt the great bulk of them are in the South to remain.

You ask: "What have been the errors in the treatment of the South by the Northern power?" It is a very pointed question, and one to which a full answer from my standpoint would necessarily be very voluminous. In giving to it a somewhat general response, I may be able to include in it some reply to several other inquiries made by you as to the political condition at the South, etc. Passing by details, then, I would say that the fundamental error by the "Northern power" has been the legislation hostile to the South and the continued political ostracism of her people, carried to the point not only of denying them official position, but of withholding it from any one whom they supported. By this error the North has created and perpetuated to this time the present Democratic party at the South, which may be said to embrace all the whites. I do not know what would have been the political alignments of our people; but I am satisfied that but for this grave error they would not have been found in any one political party, for on all general questions of Governmental policy they have differed among themselves, just as they did before the war; but in resistance to a policy and to measures hostile to their whole section, they have necessarily ignored other differences and have stood together as one man. With these differences existing among themselves, it is a most remarkable fact that for thirteen years there has been practically but one political party among the whites of the whole South. It is a fact the significance of which must challenge serious inquiry, and one which cannot be accounted for on trivial grounds. Such unanimity and such persistence cannot be attributed to prejudice or passion, for they are evanescent; but can only be the result of a strong and general conviction of self-interest. Nothing less than this could have been so general and so lasting in its controlling influence; and if the time has come when the North is ready to stop and reason as to the cause of the political solidity of the South, which is such a ground of offence, it will be well to inquire whether it is not due to the fundamental political error committed by the dominant section, which has, in practical effect, politically outlawed the people of the weaker section and compelled them to stand together for their general defence.

The people of the South did not yield the struggle of arms until their power of resistance was completely broken. Emerging from a contest in which the exertion of their supremest strength had failed, they recognized the fact that no subsequent trial would avail or could be had; Secession, Slavery and extreme doctrines of State's Rights were forever gone with defeat, and they laid down their arms with this full conviction, and intending to faithfully abide such decision and to resume all their obligations under a restored union. In response to such intentions the first act of the North was to shut the doors of Congress in the faces of the representatives of the South; and from that day to this, the political rallying cry at the North has been that no one who had the support of the South could be trusted to administer the Government. It may be replied that this has been but a mild penalty for the offence of "rebellion." Into that question I do not propose to go, as I am discussing simply what would have been a wise policy on the part of the North in its treatment of the South, if the desire was, at the close of the war, to restore the Union in fact as well as in form. Pending the war, with its passions and its miseries, there were few complimentary words for Mr. Lincoln at the South; and even at this distance of time his name is associated with the memories of a suffering and a humiliation which it has been the lot of few people in modern times to endure. But judging by the weight of responsibility which he assumed and by the magnitude of the work which he guided to successful accomplishments, every thinking man, whatever be his political bias, must know that in history he will stand as one of the colossal figures of all time. And I doubt not that in the impartial future,—which will surely come,—when the merits of the great men of either section will be recognized throughout the whole land, the highest evidence of Mr. Lincoln's claim to true greatness will be found in the record of the fact that in the heat



of the struggle and in the very flush of victory, his thoughts turned chiefly to the question of the pacification and complete reconciliation of those he then sought to vanquish in arms. Such is the testimony of those of his political family who stood nearest to him. Had he survived the closing act of the tragedy, the error which I have endeavored to point out would never have been committed by him or by the party of which he was the leader.

Never did a whole people stand in so favorable a position to be guided by new political influences away from their former political leaders, and to be easily moulded into new political associations. They found themselves in the midst of a wreck and ruin which they were prepared to recognize as the culmination of the political teachings of two generations; and with the disposition which is ever manifest, whether rightfully or wrongfully, in the event of failure, to fasten the responsibility for the disaster upon those who had been trusted as leaders, it would have been a comparatively easy task by conciliatory measures to have enlisted their support for other political organizations, diverse and antagonistic among themselves in all probability, but still not aligned upon the issues of the unfortunate past. All that was necessary was that those issues should have been recognized by the North as they were regarded by the South,—as finally settled and fixed beyond the possibility of successful question,—and that with all their irritating and prejudicial influences they should not have been selected as the basis of future political alignments, but that such alignments should have been made upon the practical questions of Governmental policy and administration. With the differing opinions which would certainly have been developed upon such questions, the people of the South would have necessarily divided into opposing political parties in the same manner as they existed before the war. But when the North passed by all such practical questions and ignored all differences as to them among themselves, and made their alignments sharply upon the issue of the proscription and political outlawry of the people of this section, and enacted laws which threatened the destruction of what remained of their social and political fabric, every instinct of self-respect and self-interest forced the men of the South to forget their individual differences of opinion upon practical Governmental questions, and to make common cause in defence of that which to them all was most valued and most sacred. The organization of the whites of the South into one political party was not due to any controlling feeling of sectionalism. If such had been the motive power, it would have manifested itself promptly at the close of the war. So far from this having been the case, for nearly three years after the surrender of the South there was no political organization in this State. Prior to the war, political parties were nearly evenly balanced in Georgia. At the Presidential election in 1860, the Democrats, while securing a plurality vote, had failed to poll a majority vote in the State; and the differences in political opinions which then existed, while they were in abeyance during the war, had doubtless survived its close and were ready to take shape if permitted to do so. But the unfriendly and threatening legislation of Congress in 1867 buried all such differences out of sight in the South, and drove all men of all shades of political opinion into one common camp in defence of their common interest; and in the closing days of 1867, in a convention of the people of the State held in the city of Macon, for the first time they organized under the name of the Democratic party. This was not a reorganization of the old Democratic party of former days, for no one could say whether the convention contained a greater number of old Democrats or of old Whigs, and the president of the convention and its moving spirit, the present Senator Hill, had won all his *ante-bellum* political reputation in fighting the Democratic party.

This was the policy on the part of the "Northern power" which organized the white people of the State solidly in one political party, and it is the unvarying continuation of the same policy which has continued to the present time the political solidity of the South. With rare exceptions, no Southern man is deemed fit for high office under the Government, and, what is infinitely worse, no man who has the support of the South will be endorsed by the North, it matters not what may be his abilities or character, or what may have been his devotion to, and sacrifices for, the Union. In every Presidential election every other consideration is forgotten, and the Northern vote is rallied solely upon the inflaming issue that no man shall be elected who, by reason of Southern support, may be in any degree subject to Southern influences. This is nothing less than the political outlawry of a section,—the admission of it to participation in the administration of the Government in form, but a rigid denial of it to such participation in fact; and no calm-thinking Republican can fail to perceive that the natural consequence must be that the people of the outlawed section will also forget their individual differences of political opinion, and unite to make a common cause in the sympathies born of a common proscription.

If the live political issues of the day grew out of unsettled questions surviving the war, there might be justification for this sectional proscription by the North. But this is not true in any sense. Even if the reconstruction measures and the last three amendments to the Constitution authorized such alignment by the Republican party, those issues are now, and have been for years, settled beyond the power of disturbance. And yet the political alignment is still upon the passions and prejudices of the war, to the utter ignoring of every practical question of legislative or administrative policy. For illustration, the Republican party is generally recognized as being favorable to high tariff, while the Democratic party favors a tariff for revenue only. But, nevertheless, low tariff and free trade men without number at the North range themselves under the Republican banner, while at the South protective tariff men are equally earnest in support of the Democratic cause. And the same is true as to every other political question which now contains a live, practical issue. A man's position on either or all of them fails to identify him as belonging to either one political party or the other. He may be in favor of free trade or fiat money, and he may be opposed to internal improvements and to subsidies by the general Government, and still he may

be a most ardent Republican; on the other hand, he may be on the other extreme on all of these questions, and still give his most earnest support to the Democratic party. This is a strange condition of affairs, and is due to the fact that while these are among the real questions which now concern the material interests of the country and are those upon which political parties would naturally be divided, they are all ignored and subordinated to the sentiment of the political proscription of the South. Upon all of these live, practical questions, the people of the South are as much divided as they are at the North; and whenever the "Northern power" shall cease to insist that the South shall wear the badge of political inferiority, and shall present the opportunity for political alignments upon these practical questions, the people of the South will divide upon them, and the "Solid South" will no longer exist as the spectral phantom of American politics. But so long as these practical questions are ignored as the tests of party fealty, and so long as the dominant party has for its sole *shibboleth* political outlawry and ostracism for the South, then so long, I believe, will the great mass of our people cling together in their proscription, even if it be in the discouragement of continued defeat.

In speaking of the contingencies under which the "Solid South" would cease to exist, I do not intend to convey the idea of the disbandment of the Democratic party. Back of the sectional issues which have thus caused it to include within its ranks almost the entire white population of the South, this party represents a school of politics which has existed since the formation of the Government; and while the result of the war has very much modified some of its more extreme tenets and has utterly destroyed others of them, there still survive to it principles of construction and administration which will always command the support of a very large number of the people, both at the North and the South, and cause it to continue to be, either under its present or some other name, one of the national political parties of the country.

Should the present proscriptive policy of the Republican party be continued, I am not prepared to predict its influence upon political results in the South; for the conviction is fast settling upon the minds of our people that the North will never favor any man supported by the South, and that their votes, so far from being an assistance, are a clog to any candidate for office. Thus the feeling is growing that in their own land they are political strangers, without opportunity or responsibility for the exercise of any influence as citizens in the maintenance of good government; and, as a consequence, a large proportion of the best class of our citizens are becoming extremely indifferent as to the matter of voting and an increasing number of them do not go to the polls. The effect of this is seen in the decreased vote at each recurring election. Whether a condition of affairs which tends to make the best citizens voluntarily disfranchise themselves, conduces to the public weal, let every intelligent man judge. The possibility that this apathy may decrease the Democratic vote to such an extent as to jeopardize the ascendancy of the Democratic party in the South, is an anticipation which should be gratifying to no patriot of any political party; for the security of Republican institutions rests mainly in the support and love of good citizens, and the overthrow of a political opponent is dearly bought, if it be at the expense of the loss by a large portion of the community of the feeling of patriotic identity with the Government.

Secession, every sane man knows, is forever dead, and in consequence, so far as human knowledge can determine, this Government is to be perpetual. With the conviction of this fact, Southern men naturally wish that alienations shall cease, and that their condition at home, and their political associations with other sections, may be such as will enable them to feel and to realize that it is indeed their own Government, under the protection and in the support of which they stand as equals, entitled to every right and privilege of citizenship. To accomplish this, it is necessary that there should be removed that ban of political outlawry which exists in the practical denial of their right to participate in the choice of those who shall administer the Government, and in placing in their midst, as the representative officials of that Government, those who, with rare exceptions, are foreign to their people. Sectionalism in political alignment is necessarily disastrous to the weaker section. The people of the South fully appreciate this truth, and relieved from the proscriptive action of the "Northern power" which now necessarily bands them together, they would be distinguished by no other sectionalism than that which is proper and which finds its expression in the expansion of the sentiment that "all patriotism centres at the hearthstone."

Very respectfully,

AUGUSTUS O. BACON.

### THE STORY OF VASSAR.

THE first President of Vassar College has found a fitting memorial in an attractive volume ("John Howard Raymond: His Life and Letters," edited by his eldest daughter,) excellent alike in typography, paper and binding, and adorned with a faithful and well-executed portrait on steel. President Raymond's was a strong and genial character, and his life was a busy and useful life, full of interest, too, to the reader, though he made but few changes in his life-work. From 1835 to 1850, he was first a student and then a teacher in the Baptist Theological Seminary at Hamilton, New York; for five years more he labored at Rochester, where he was one of the most active of the organizers of the University. Till 1864 he devoted himself to the Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. His life-work was at Vassar, which will remain to all time his monument. It is in the story of Vassar that our readers will, perhaps, take the most interest, and that we shall briefly take from Mrs. Lloyd's book, bearing testimony here to the good taste and pious care with which she has discharged her duties as editor, and citing, as an encouragement to readers of the hundreds of charac-

teristic, graceful, eloquent and practical letters in the volume, Mr. Beecher's neat and truthful phrase: "As we were inseparable companions of voyage and travel, it could not be otherwise than that his letters to his family should carry a thousand personal details. But those are the very things that give life to a biography. To cut them out would be like taking away the pearls and leaving only the string on which they were placed."

It was in January, 1861, that Dr. Raymond received the first intimation from Mr. Vassar that he had been appointed one of the incorporators of Vassar Female College. On the 26th of February the Board was convened, and Mr. Vassar handed over to the trustees the key of a casket filled with bonds, mortgages, title deeds and certificates of stock,—the property he had set apart for the accomplishment of his cherished design of creating and supporting an institution which should be to young American women what Yale and Harvard are to their brothers. "It having pleased God," he said, in his simple and dignified address, "that I should have no descendants to inherit my property, it has long been my desire, after suitably providing for those of my kindred who have claims upon me, to make such a disposition of my means as should best honor God and benefit my fellow-men. At different periods I have regarded various plans with favor; but these have all been dismissed, one after another, until the subject of erecting and endowing a college for the education of young women was presented for my consideration. The novelty, grandeur and benignity of the idea arrested my attention, and the more carefully I examined it the more strongly it commended itself to my judgment and interested my feelings." On the 4th of June, 1861, Mr. Vassar broke ground with his own hands, in the presence of a few of his friends, and with no other ceremony than a simple prayer for the Divine blessing on the enterprise. The building was finished and fully equipped by the autumn of 1865, being completed at an enormous cost, and taxing the builder's resources more severely than the largest and boldest of his business enterprises. It is pleasant to reflect that the college was from the first a pronounced success, and its generous founder lived to taste the pleasures of good fame deserved. "He never wearied of walking through its spacious halls and apartments," we are told, "filled with busy workers in the noblest of human employments, and witnessing their free and happy use of the abundant facilities which he had placed at their disposal. He visited the college daily when his health permitted, cultivated a friendly acquaintance with the professors and students, and took a lively interest in the discussion of all the questions that came up in the current life of the institution. He was ever sure of a warm and loving welcome there,

\* \* \* and it is not too much to say that the expenditure of his fortune yielded him, during the last three years of his life, more genuine and unmingled satisfaction than all he had experienced in acquiring it throughout his long and prosperous business career."

From the very first, Dr. Raymond's enthusiasm was enlisted in the experiment, of whose success he never entertained a doubt. When Professor Jewett withdrew from the enterprise and the Presidency of the institution was offered to him, he, however, declined it on the ground that the outlay in erecting the College had been so great as to leave an inadequate provision for the endowment of professorships and of the scholarships which he so much desired. The salary, too, was inadequate—representing about \$3,500 a year, whereas \$5,000 was the least he was willing to accept. Mr. Vassar, however, was resolved on securing him, and on the 7th of June, Dr. Raymond wrote to his wife that he had accepted the place. "For the first time," he said, "I have been brought into direct contact with Mr. Vassar's heart; it is as large as an elephant's and as tender as a babe's. It is a wonder to me how a man without any regular education can so correctly appreciate the necessities of such an institution and the conditions of its success." The work of organizing it was arduous and perplexing, and endless complications arose, particularly in the choice of the college faculty and officers. "It is an hundred-limbed animal we are making," he wrote on one occasion; "and as every limb of the centipede has to be shaped and articulated and adjusted with respect to every other, there is no finally deciding any one important question till we are ready to decide all at once." In the interesting correspondence with Miss Lyman, the first Lady Principal of the College, the reader will find abundant evidence of the earnest, genial, practical, and, above all, catholic spirit, in which Dr. Raymond approached his work. "I could be a member of an orthodox Congregational church," he wrote of himself, "with about the same amount of protestation as I am of a Baptist; of a Presbyterian or Episcopal, with some more. But I should be a poor Congregationalist, and poorer Presbyterian and Episcopalian, just as it is understood I am a poor Baptist, and as I am willing to be if I may but be in the same proportion a better Christian. So far as this, my purpose is fixed—that, as Providence has not made the College dependent for its pecuniary support on any denomination, so under my administration it shall never be managed in the interest of any." Of the first eight heads of departments whom he selected, four were Congregationalists and two Baptists, the others being an Episcopalian and a Friend.

But courage, tact and patient industry overcame all difficulties, and on the 20th of September, 1865, the "opening day" of the College,

he could write to his wife: "Thus far we run before the wind; our arrangements are perfect and work smoothly." Three days later, on the first Saturday night, he writes of the "beautiful chaos" he had to reduce to order: "It seems like a dream,—the sudden transmutation of this great lumbering pile of brick and mortar, which hung on my spirit like a mountainous mill-stone, into a palace of light and life. Last evening I got out for the first time after dark, walked quietly down the front avenue to the lodge-gate under the dim light of the stars, and then turned to look at the College. On every side it sparkled like a diamond. The blinds were generally open, and many of the windows; and everywhere fair young forms were moving around and merry voices were heard in conversation and song. At the rear the pianos were going, and you would have thought the building had been inhabited for years instead of hours. Mr. Vassar has only just lived through it. He is almost sick with joy."

In the twelfth chapter the reader will find the interesting history of the formative years of Vassar which Dr. Raymond furnished to the Vienna International Exposition. The preliminary examinations made it clear that the higher female education in the United States, with a great deal that was elevated in aim and earnest in intention, was characterized by much confusion, much waste of power and much barrenness of result, and admitted of essential improvement. A noticeable and encouraging fact was the earnestness of purpose, assiduity of application, and intelligence to appreciate good counsel, which from the beginning characterized the students. Their tastes and inclinations were usually positive, though reasons were not so plentiful. The deepest impression received by him was that, while the college system for young men needed "expansion, relaxation, a wider variety of studies and freer scope for individual choice," the great desideratum for the higher education of women was regulation, authoritative and peremptory. The College began with the drawback of a complete lack of organized preparatory schools, to furnish it with students properly grounded in the disciplinary branches; but one fact was discovered which counterbalanced all discouragements: "The most mature, thoughtful and influential of the students perfectly apprehended the situation, knew what they wanted, and earnestly sought it. Modestly but firmly, earnestly and intelligently, they pleaded for the adoption of the highest educational standard; avowed their readiness to submit, for themselves, to the most rigid conditions, and exerted a powerful influence to diffuse right views among the more intelligent of their fellow-students." Not until toward the close of the second year was an attempt made to arrange about a third of the students in college classes, and not until the close of its third year did the institution fully attain a collegiate character. But at the opening of the fourth year (1868-9) the permanent course of study, which had been matured so slowly and soundly, definitively replaced the provisional one adopted at the outset, and it has remained in operation ever since, with occasional modifications of detail.

For the story in detail, the President's hopes and anxieties, methods and successes, we refer the reader to Mrs. Lloyd's pages, crowded with his letters and those of his friends and pupils. Dr. Raymond's character, as revealed in this volume, will remind one strongly of that of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, another of the great educators of the century: "Power without ambition, consecration without bigotry, enthusiasm without fanaticism, gentleness without timidity, perseverance without combativeness, dignity without pomp, mirth without frivolity, versatility without dissipation of energy, candor without uncertainty, and piety without cant,"—all these were combined in a strong and lovable character; and whoever reads the story of his life, and studies the man manifested in his letters, will surely think, with Beecher, that he was a thoroughly good and wholly useful man, and that "there are few whose lives will yield so much wheat and so little straw and chaff."

## LITERATURE.

### LALANNE ON ETCHINGS.

THE art of etching gives, in some respects, the most poetic form of expression to the graphic instinct. Through it we obtain glimpses into the artist's mind which disclose his impressions in their first half-revealed condition; a vision of lines, and shadows, and dim half-lights, presented to us by means more ethereal in their effect than pencil strokes, yet at the same time more intense. It should seem as if the impersonal force of nature,—the acid co-operating with the human individuality of the sketcher, as traced in the lines of his needle,—lent to the work a quality of comprehensiveness, and also of exclusiveness and wonder, which no other process can achieve. This being so, it is natural that etching should be pre-eminently an art for artists and the admiration of a few. But of late years appreciation of its beauties has increased and spread amazingly, and there could be no more significant sign of the higher direction which our æsthetic development is taking in America, than the growing interest manifested by American *connoisseurs*, artists and critics, in this branch of activity. This tendency has been fostered and materially quickened by Mr. S. R. Koehler, in his capacity of editor of *The American Art Review*, who has recently offered to the public an excellent translation of Maxime Lalanne's "Treatise on Etching," long known to collectors and favorably regarded by technicians. In the matter of style and treatment, Lalanne does for etching what Violet-le-Duc does for architect-



ture; but, besides this, what he furnishes is also an accurate manual, showing the would-be etcher exactly what he has to provide himself with, in order to accomplish his task, and the precise accidents and obstacles which he will encounter in trying to carry it out. He begins with a definition of etching and its general characteristics, continues with a careful chapter on the tools required and the preliminaries to actual work; comes afterward to the particulars of biting throughout all its stages; then describes in detail the finishing of the plate, and devotes a necessary chapter to accidents. The sixth chapter discusses differences between flat-biting and biting with stopping-out. Speaking of the plan adopted by one original and meritorious etcher,—that of executing an etching while in the bath,—commencing with the parts needing a vigorous biting, and passing on to the more delicate parts,—the author says: "Every etcher ought to be curious to try this bold method of working, so that he may see how it is possible to ally the inspiration of the moment with the uncertain duration of the biting. It is well," he adds, "to try everything that may give new and unknown results, may inspire ideas or may lead to progress." The roulette, the flat point, the burin, sand-paper and sulphur tints,—all come in for a share of attention, as well as soft-ground etching, dry-point etching and the pen process. Everyone at all acquainted with this art knows how much depends upon "proving and printing," which (especially the latter,) constitute almost a supplementary art. M. Lalanne therefore wisely assigns a final section to this topic. To show how much depends upon these ultimate processes, we may mention an incident connected with a New York painter in some of his etching experiments. Having got his plate nearly ready, but having concluded to heat it once more and make some improvements, he had just lighted his spirit-lamp, when it occurred to him to apply the flame of the match to a spot which he wished to darken and soften. He did so, and acquired just the desired effect. The experiment was audacious; but the impression after all is the great thing, and, perhaps, such a device is as legitimate as the endless varieties of effect produced by hand-wiping and other means—a phenomenal instance of which is presented in a series of fifteen etchings by Le Pic, now on exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, all of which were made from one plate, although depicting an extraordinary range of atmospheric effects and phases of light and shade in the same landscape. Mr. Koehler's work has not been confined to simple translation, though that is well done—excepting in minor points, like that of spelling the name of a familiar metal in several places "zink," and in others, properly, "zinc." In addition to the labor of preparing an English version, he has furnished a clear, concise and serviceable introductory chapter, to some extent going over the ground of his original's introduction, but in a more practical way, and with hints of immediate value to the American student. It may be doubted, however, whether it be necessary in such a work to refer to one Miller, of Boston, who sells earthenware-pots (for melting asphaltum in), since advertising is not the object of the essay, and earthenware with inside glaze is sold in many places. Mr. Koehler's notes at the end of this little eighty-page volume will be found very useful. A manual on etching would be but a blind guide without illustrations, and these are furnished, with some additions to those of the original publication. They are not, on the whole, very delicate or inspiring specimens, though they serve their purpose; but a first plate by Walter Lansil, of Boston, should be excepted, as offering a fine hint of freedom and artistic *verve*. Taken altogether, the "Treatise," in its present shape, must be regarded as a very useful auxiliary, and its appearance must inevitably forward the etcher's art in this country. (Estes & Lauriat, Boston. 1880.)

"THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE CHIEF JUSTICES" of the United States, by Henry Flanders, has long been known and valued in the legal world as a treasury of biographical, anecdotal and political information respecting the early judicial history of the country. In these days of over-ornamented and bedizened prose, it gives a novel and agreeable sensation to read such prose as that of Mr. Flanders's,—so quiet, so dignified, so simple and so natural. There is something in such a style akin to volumes of pure sea water or blue ether,—a similar tonical and purifying quality. It is sometimes restful to read the driest and most colorless legal language. And, apart from the style, the subject-matter of these biographies affords much fascination, even to the general reader. A good life of a great man is the most healthful and instructive reading in the world, and always will remain so. Perhaps the numerous personal anecdotes of Mr. Flanders's work will always form its most attractive feature. We get, through them, a great many interesting glimpses into the domestic life of the first half century of our national existence. Englishmen must be particularly astonished, and even amused, at the utter absence in our Chief Justices of factitious dignity. Without one exception, the Chief Justices whose lives are narrated in Mr. Flanders's volumes (Jay, Rutledge, Cushing, Ellsworth and Marshall,) were singularly frank, gentle and unassuming, and even familiar, in deportment and life. Mr. Jay was "tranquil and unassuming. The Bible was his constant study." Of Cushing we are told that "the habits of his life were retired, and he sought his happiness in domestic life." Of the simple and unostentatious life of Judge Ellsworth, a little anecdote gives the best idea: "He often visited a mineral spring in Suffield, Connecticut, for the benefit of his health. On one occasion the wife of the proprietor of the springs denied his application for board, saying that she 'could not entertain a great man like him in a suitable manner.' 'But, madame,' said he, 'do you not have bread?' 'Oh! yes, sir; and milk, too.' 'Very well,' was the reply, 'that is all the food I need.'" Many anecdotes are told of Judge Marshall—of his playing at quoits, in his shirt-sleeves, in public places; of his adventures with his old gig and horse on country roads, and his *incognito* adventures. The picture of Judge Marshall's charming and child-like simplicity,—his modesty and learning, the affectionateness of his nature, etc.,—is a very pleasing one. These noble and venerable men of the old *regime*, with their powdered hair and three-cornered hats, their old Roman virtues and calmly-ordered lives—it were a sad day for democ-

racy should the time come when the youth of America should cease to study their lives with veneration and respect. (T. & J. W. Johnson & Co., 535 Chestnut street, Philadelphia. 1881. 2 vols., pp. 645 & 550. With index.)

ACROSS PATAGONIA.—The volume of travels bearing this title, by Lady Florence Dixie, is one more witness to the ability of the women of this age to endure all the fatigues and hardships of travels in wild and remote regions of the globe, and also to write very fascinating descriptions thereof. The feats of travel and adventure performed by such women as Ida Pfeiffer, Lady Baker, Miss Isabella Bird, and Lady Florence Dixie, prove that there is now thrown open to women a new field in which they may develop and display their powers without let or hindrance.

Lady Florence Dixie shows herself in this volume to be a woman of decidedly masculine characteristics; a very Amazon, possessed of rude and robust health, and not troubled sorely with too much feminine delicacy. Her volume, while thoroughly enjoyable for the general reader, on account of its being a record of adventure in a fresh and before almost unknown region, will be more particularly relished by the sportsman. In fact, it is little else than a journal of a hunting party, interspersed with some agreeable descriptions of scenery. But it is a journal nicely written and richly spiced with exciting adventure.

Very spirited are the descriptions of the various chases for the swift-footed guanacos and ostriches. Both quadrupeds and birds gave dogs and men many a hot chase before succumbing. Coursing over the pampas with incredible speed, they "double" and double again, and tire out the fleetest dog. The best and almost the only way to take them is by building a circle of fires around them, and then closing in upon them.

The party of Lady Dixie consisted of herself, husband, brother, and several other friends. They had a pretty rough time of it, and several mishaps, such as a slight earthquake, a prairie fire, hunger, etc. Lady Dixie shows us incidentally that she is a bold and fearless rider, and a capital shot. We like to hear of her daring adventures; but it is necessary to prove the masculine robustness of her nature that she should go out of her way to tell us twice, at some length, of her plunge-baths in sea and mountain streams? We hardly think so. A few quotations will give a better description of Lady Dixie's book than anything that can be said about it. Take this for an example of many ostrich hunts: "At each double the ostrich shoots far ahead of his pursuer (the dog), and gains a considerable advantage. Away across the plains the animals fly, whilst I and Gregorio press eagerly in their wake. The excitement grows every moment more intense, and I watch the close struggle going on with the keenest interest. Suddenly the stride of the bird grows slower, his doubles become more frequent, showers of feathers fly in every direction as Plata seizes him by the tail, which comes away in his mouth. In another moment the dog has him by the throat, and for a few minutes nothing can be distinguished but a gray struggling heap. Then Gregorio dashes forward, throws himself off his horse, breaks the bird's neck, and when I arrive upon the scene the struggle is over. The run had lasted for twenty-five minutes." Two pumas were killed by the party. A species of bird called chorlito, something like the golden plover, and feeding upon cranberries, they found the most delicate morsel of game they had ever tasted. After they had discovered its qualities, which was at dinner one day, "no sound was heard for a time but the smacking of lips, the crunching of bones, and occasionally such exclamations as 'Stunning!' 'By Jove!' 'Delicious!' &c. So seductively succulent, so exquisitely flavored, so far beyond anything the gourmand might dream of in the sublimest flight of his imagination, is the flesh of the cranberry-fed chorlito, that the sensation it produces on the palate when tasted for the first time may, without hyperbole, be described as rising to the dignity of an emotion." When far up in the Cordilleras, where the foot of man had rarely if ever trod, (as was shown by the tameness of the guanacos, deer, &c.,) the party narrowly escaped what might have proved a fatal accident, *i. e.*, the loss of their *tropilla* of horses. Wild horses abound in these mountains, and the stallion of a troop will always attempt to drive off tame horses and mares into his troop, viciously biting and kicking any animal that shows itself refractory. The party was saved by a stallion in their own troop, who, seeing his wives driven off, attacked the bold marauder, and held him engaged till the men came up. The infuriated stallions fought with teeth and fore hoofs; the domesticated one was, however, worsted, and only bullets could drive off his antagonist. The descriptions of the rich vegetation of the mountain plains, and of the sublimely-towering snowy summits of the Cordilleras, are very fine.

On the return trip, our hunters got out of meat and all other food, and things looked rather desperate. But they managed to reach the first house; two of the men riding ahead dashed into the kitchen, devoured what was to have been the breakfast of the entire family, and then got the astonished farmer to provide food for the rest. When they reached the port of departure, they became suddenly aware of their tattered and gipsy-like appearance. "The men of our party, particularly," says Lady Dixie, "were unpleasant to look at. Their hair had grown long and elfin; their faces were tanned to a dark red-brown, which the dust and the smoke from the camp-fires had deepened into—well—black; and their unshaven chins were disfigured by a profuse growth of coarse stubble. Our clothes did not bear close inspection; the blood of many a guanaco, the grease of many an ostrich dinner, the thorn of many a califate bush, had left their marks; and, altogether, a more ruffianly, disreputable lot than we looked, it would be hard to imagine." The wood-cuts in the American edition of this volume are rather poor, but the print and binding are handsome. (R. Worthington, New York. 1881. pp. 251.)

## DRIFT.

—A Piedmontese paper called the *Gazette* not long ago took a step which, for ludicrous *naïveté* and honesty, is probably hitherto unexampled in the history of journalism. One day the following note appeared in the paper: "We regretfully recognize the fact that the story in course of publication in this paper presents too little interest for the majority of our readers, and we find ourselves in the disagreeable situation of being obliged to suspend its publication."

—*La Presse* says: "Colonel E. A. L. Roberts, of Titusville, Pa., has signed a contract with the Baldwin Locomotive Works, by which he engages himself to construct a locomotive capable of making 80 miles an hour, and of keeping up this rate of speed over a distance of 100 miles without stop. The locomotive will weigh 38 tons. The driving wheels will have a diameter of 6 feet. The trucks will be of paper (*papier maché*), which resists wear and pressure better than iron or steel. The cylinder, patented by Colonel Roberts, has the parts which discharge the steam placed in a circle around the cylinder. The locomotive is said to be destined for Europe."

—An interesting anecdote of Napoleon III. has been published in a German periodical by Herr Lucian Herbert. After the unsuccessful affair of Boulogne, and while an inmate of the Conciergerie in Paris, Napoleon occupied himself in translating into French, Schiller's *Die Ideale*. A certain lady of rank and *esprit* (now deceased), expressed a wish to see this translation, and Napoleon wrote her the following pretty little billet: "MADAME: I yield to your wishes in sending you my translation of the ode of Schiller ('The Ideal'). Yet, am I right in doing so? Should I exhibit the regrets of a soul lamenting over illusions destroyed to the person most capable of making all those illusions live again? Receive, Madame, the assurance of my devoted attachment. LOUIS NAPOLEON B."

—The Egyptologist, H. Brugsch, has published a detailed account of the opening of two pyramids on the edge of the Lybian Desert, and belonging to what is known as the Sakkara group. The opening of these pyramids was a matter that occupied the last moments of the late Mariette-Bey, and he left word to Brugsch to not fail to undertake it. The numerous inscriptions found were mostly about the Pharaonic King Phiops, and the mummy of this king's eldest son was found in the pyramid. Brugsch says: "These two pyramids, although robbed of their material adornments in the sepulchral chambers, yet have, for a knowledge of the most ancient religious doctrines of the Egyptians of the fourteenth century B. C., for their doctrines of the gods, for their language and writing, the significance of a great scientific treasure."

—Lessing's "Nathan, The Wise," and Schiller's "William Tell," have been translated into New Greek, in metrical form, by A. R. Rangabé, Greek Ambassador at Berlin.

—At a recent sale of the library of the Duc de Clare, in France, the first edition of Shakespeare brought only \$260, while the MS. of Scott's "Guy Mannering" was sold for \$1,950, a price which a French paper justly pronounces *terrible*.

—A little lesson in spelling given by a Paris hack-driver to a journalist: Journalist hails a coachman whose carriage is ornamented by the inscription, *Chauffé*. He opens the door and is stupefied to find a total absence of warmth. "Coachman, why do you advertise that the carriage is warm, when it isn't?" "Pardon, Monsieur, it is I who am warmed. You shall see." Then, showing a warming pan which he has under his feet, he adds: "If it were the carriage which is warmed, my notice would have read *chauffé* and not *chauffé*. It is easy to see that you do not know how to spell." Journalist beats a hasty retreat, confounded by this profound grammarian.

## FINANCE.

NEW YORK, March 9, 1881.

THE week which ends to-day has witnessed a rather curious stock speculation in some respects. From a market for the first few days of great buoyancy and an activity represented by daily sales of about 600,000 shares, we have a relapse to a dull, unsettled and heavy condition, if not decidedly lower prices. The final passage of the Funding Bill by the House of Representatives had not time to work any damage to prices, for the veto of President Hayes came so promptly. This meritorious act inspired speculators with fresh courage and hopes, and stocks renewed their soaring towards the empyrean. The rekindled animation of the market was also partly due to the announcement by the Treasury Department, on the very day the news of the veto was received, that it would receive on the following Wednesday, in the usual way, offers to sell \$5,000,000 bonds for the Sinking Fund. But toward the close of the calendar week dangerous symptoms of a relapse came, and so on Saturday new stimulants, or rather old stimulants in a new and stronger form, were applied to what threatened to become a serious financial panic. It is needless now to repeat the various wild reports and surmises which on Saturday were as thick on Wall Street as leaves in Valambrosa. The most important influence on prices,—one which has since daily increased in interest to operators—was the circulation of a dispatch, purporting to come from Washington, stating that the Treasury Department would accede to the request of the national banks, that they be permitted to withdraw their legal tenders, deposited, while the Funding Bill piracy was threatening the banks, to retire circulation, upon the re-deposits of withdrawn bonds. The dispatch was, to speak mildly, premature; but it accomplished its intended effect and created a perfect whirl of "bull" excitement. Among the minor influences that stimulated prices, was the appointment of Mr. Windom as Secretary of the Treasury, for the general interpretation, however incorrect it may have been, which was given to it on Wall Street, was that it meant a financial policy in the Government in the direction of liberal expansion. Since Saturday the result of the unreasonable assumptions of the advocates of higher prices has been seen in the gradual weakening of the market and its constantly increasing dullness. Closing prices, however, were left by the last "bull" tide, even after its ebb, 2 to 6 per cent. above the final figures last week.

Experienced operators—even those who are sanguine as to the future situation—are expressing the opinion that a newly sustained upward movement is not likely to be

seen until after April 1, at least. The present season, certainly, is not propitious to immediate "bulls." The money market, unless altered by some new elements at present unforeseen, promises to work closely until after the usual April settlements. Not a few bankers fear a very stringent market if the legal tenders of the banks are not released, or the bond purchases of the Government are not extraordinarily heavy, and even in the event of a decision by the Treasury Department, that the deposited lawful money may be returned upon the re-deposit of bonds, an active 6 per cent. market is looked for. Further inflation of prices, under these circumstances, would only aggravate the situation, as it would require more money to "carry" stocks. It is also to be taken into consideration that the gross earnings of the Western railroads have shown, and must continue to show for some little time to come, heavy losses; and when the net earnings are made up, the extraordinary expenses entailed by the snow blockades are expected to make the exhibit, if anything, worse. The Eastern roads relying upon Western traffic, to a greater or less extent, are bound to be affected by the sufferings of their connections.

The railroad bond market has been dull, the dealings being mainly speculative, and the range of prices being irregular. Government bonds were duller, but with an improvement in quotations.

The prompt veto by President Hayes of the Funding Bill as it passed Congress, had an immediate and very satisfactory influence upon the money and the stock markets, but the mischief done by the last Congress in its attempt to extort from the national banks a forced loan, have not yet disappeared, and the new Administration is called upon to settle a question that never should have arisen. There has been, and there is, no disposition on the part of the banks to do anything that will injuriously affect the returning prosperity which has been the prominent feature of the business interests of this country for the past two years. The managers of our national banks are not, as some Congressmen have tried to make the public believe, the "meanest men in the country;" and, furthermore, any action on their part which tends to disturb the money market, must necessarily affect disadvantageously their own pecuniary interests, and also place them in an unfavorable light in the eyes of the public. They were not disposed, however, to sit idle while Congress was arranging to seize upon a large portion of their assets; and, consequently, deposits with the Treasurer of the United States, to secure circulation, amounting to between \$15,000,000 and \$20,000,000, were withdrawn, and the puzzling question now is how to get back the circulation thus surrendered. The national banks of this city manifest great indifference as to whether the \$2,800,000 circulation cancelled by them is restored or not. The country banks are, however, in a different position; their circulation is of much greater value to them, and the season of the year is approaching when the business interests of the country demand more currency than is now available. In financial circles, without regard to party prejudices, there is remarkable unanimity in the belief that President Garfield's administration will be such that, in the language of his inaugural address, the finances of the Government will suffer no detriment which it will be possible for this Administration to prevent. Many of the country banks have applied for a return of their old notes on a re-deposit of bonds, and the delay on the part of the President and his Cabinet in deciding whether or not such a course will be legal, notwithstanding the importance of prompt action on the part of the Government, demonstrates the extremely unpleasant position in which the new Administration is placed. Some relief to the money market will be afforded by the purchase to-day of \$5,000,000 of the 6 per cent. bonds, and it is in the power of the Secretary to furnish further aid by future additional purchases.

One of the inevitable effects of the present financial condition of the country has been illustrated during the past week. The abundance of capital for some time past has fostered a disposition to overtrading, even among strong houses, and the present stringency places them in a very unpleasant position. Heretofore, good firms have found no difficulty through leading brokers in placing their individual notes for large amounts at moderate rates of interest, for which at present there is no market. Large amounts of such paper are now being offered without finding purchasers.

A better idea of the actual condition of the national banks of this city was furnished by the Clearing House in its statement issued last Saturday, than for the week preceding. During the two weeks ending last Friday night, the deposits were reduced \$33,275,500, while the loans show a loss of \$22,321,900, and the reserve (specie and legal tenders) \$12,553,500. The total reserve is now a little less than the amount required under the 25 per cent rule. The clearances for the past week were the largest ever reported by the associated banks of this city, amounting to \$1,241,050,579.

Railroad consolidations and combinations are the order of the day. For the past week the most startling, and in many respects the most important, consolidation that has been made in some time, is the purchase by the Pennsylvania Railroad of the controlling interest in the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad. The Baltimore & Ohio has long been seeking an independent New York outlet, but at every step it has met with earnest opposition on the part of the Pennsylvania Company. Finally, persons interested in the proposed new line which was to run over the Bound Brook route, between New York and Philadelphia, purchased a majority of the stock of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Company, of a Boston capitalist; but, as it proved, he was unable to deliver the stock, and, unexpected to everybody, the Pennsylvania Company secured, by purchase, a controlling interest in the stock of that company, the agreement being closed Monday night in this city. This was subsequently ratified by the stockholders' meeting yesterday. The Baltimore & Ohio Company is emphatically left out in the cold, its eastern terminus being again at Baltimore, with no hope of extending it further eastward except by the construction of a new line from Baltimore to Philadelphia. The price paid by the Pennsylvania Company for the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore stock was 140, or \$70 a share.



The St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railroad has been brought prominently before the public recently by the purchase of a large portion of the stock of Mr. Jay Gould, and the announcement of a probable union of interests between it and the Missouri, Kansas & Texas, and the International & Great Northern. The report of the Iron Mountain Company for 1880 gives the gross income from all sources, except the sale of lands, at \$6,265,097, being an increase over the preceding year of nearly \$1,000,000. The general operating expenses were a little over \$4,000,000, or 65.04 per cent. of the income. The expenses are stated to have been unusually large, owing to the policy adopted by the Board, of putting the road into first-class condition as rapidly as possible. The total amount expended in construction was \$799,746. The Company sold during the year 65,915 acres of land in Arkansas, at an average of \$3.43 an acre. The President states that the income bonds of the Company had been very unsatisfactory to the holders, and it is concluded to advise the issue of a new 5 per cent. consolidated mortgage bond, running 50 years, and to retire the income bonds and the bonds of all other issues. The total interest on the contemplated issue will be only \$1,604,300, while at present the interest on the outstanding bonds is \$2,065,359.

The Western Union Telegraph Company issued its quarterly statement to-day, covering the first three months of the current year. This statement is always made up on financial returns for the first month, nearly complete returns for the second, and estimated earnings for the third month. The revised statement for the last quarter of last year now made public, shows a gain of \$47,000 over the estimated profits. The earnings for the present quarter are given at \$1,669,000, to which add the surplus on hand at the beginning of the year of \$148,000, and the gross amount at the end of the quarter will be \$1,817,000. After deducting interest, &c., and also 1½ per cent. dividend on the increased capital of \$80,000,000, which was declared to-day, there is still left a surplus of \$315,459.

The annual election of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, which was held in this city to-day, resulted in the election of the old Board, with the exception of Au-

gustus Schell, in the place of Mr. Greeley of St. Louis. The total earnings of the past year amounted to \$22,455,134, of which over \$15,200,000 were from freight, and \$5,400,000 from passenger traffic. The gain in earnings, as compared with the previous year, amounted to \$4,400,000, and the ratio of expenses to receipts was 44.96, against 44.38 in 1879. Of the expenses, which were \$10,454,000, over \$2,132,000 were for conducting the transportation, \$3,583,000 for motive power, \$1,964,000 for maintenance of way, and \$1,100,000 for renewal of rails. The total funded debt on December 31st, 1880, was \$92,984,624, of which \$39,095,624 belonged to the Kansas Pacific. Of this amount, \$10,361,500 is held by Messrs. Gould and Sage, trustees of the consolidated mortgage bonds. The sales of land of the Union Pacific Land Grant for the year, were 176,201 acres, at an average of \$4.82 per acre, and of the Kansas Pacific Land Grants, 100,382 acres, at \$4.03 per acre.

The gross earnings of thirty-nine railroads for the month of February were \$10,385,089, an increase of \$480,541 over the same month of the preceding year, while the gross earnings from January 1st to the end of February show an increase of \$1,696,553. Owing to the heavy snow storms that have prevailed in the Northwest, retarding or entirely suspending transportation, the roads passing through that section of the country have suffered severely, the Northwest Railroad for the month of February showing a decrease in earnings of nearly \$175,000, as compared with the corresponding month of last year, and the St. Paul Railroad, \$55,750. The Wabash is also \$114,000 short of its last year's earnings for the same month, while the Louisville and Nashville shows a gain of \$228,000, the Denver and Rio Grande, \$189,000, and the Central Pacific, \$329,000.

In the Philadelphia market, the prices of some of the active stocks have shown decided recoveries from the closing quotations of a week ago, Northern Pacific common gaining 5½, and the preferred, 4; Pennsylvania, 1¼; Buffalo, Pittsburgh and Western, 1½; Lehigh Valley, 2; Lehigh Navigation and Reading, each 1; and Philadelphia and Erie, 1¼.

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## The Southern Maryland Railroad.

### Location of the Road and Objects.

The Southern Maryland Railroad is designed to extend from Point Lookout, at the mouth of the Potomac River, to Washington, where it will make connection with the Baltimore and Potomac Branch of the Pennsylvania Road, and with the Washington and Metropolitan Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Road.

From Point Lookout to Brandywine, where it intersects the Pope's Creek Branch of the Baltimore and Potomac Road, is a distance of 58 miles, of which 46 miles have been graded. The length of the road is 77 miles. In its location it conforms closely to the dividing ridge between the waters of Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay from Point Lookout to the City of Washington.

The charter is a liberal one, and was obtained in 1868. The objects of its projectors were the agricultural development of Point Lookout peninsula, and to open a new outlet to the Atlantic Ocean, by way of St. Mary's River and Chesapeake Bay, for the vast and ever-increasing productions of the great West.

The Southern Maryland Road is virtually an extension of the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore and Ohio Roads to deep water in the lower Chesapeake, and through them and their ramifications it becomes connected with the whole railroad system of the country and with the coal-fields of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

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